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10 March 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1363

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S., USSR BLAMED FOR CONTINUING TENSIONS IN AFRICA

Ljubljana ITD in Slovenian 14 Jan 77 p 3

[Article by Janko Lorenci]

[Text] In the first half of 1976 the war in Angola gradually decreased but the germs of war elsewhere in Africa retained their strength or grew even stronger.

In the middle of 1976 the tension between Uganda and Kenya rose to the boiling point. Troops that the two states could muster were concentrated at their common border. Kenya closed its territory to transit traffic and the unpredictable Marshal Amin Dada had to agree to a "dishonorable" agreement. As a consequence, the East African economic community, which in addition to Kenya and Uganda also includes Tanzania, was disrupted even further. Kenya and Uganda both increased their purchases of weapons, the former in the West and the latter in the East. None of the causes of the tension have been removed.

Last year there was an incessant succession of clashes between Somalia and Ethiopia. The capitals of the two countries were accusing each other of expansionist tendencies with respect to the disputed territories of Ogaden and Djibouti. Djibouti will attain independence this year but each of the two states would like to annex it or at least prevent the other from doing so. As a consequence, Ethiopia concluded a large weapons purchase contract in the United States of America while the well trained Somali army is even better equipped with Soviet armament.

Morocco and Mauritania have arbitrarily carved up and annexed West Sahara, a former Spanish colony. A dangerous precedent has been established by violating one of the basic security mechanisms and principles of the Organization of African Unity: namely, the integrity of the colonial boundaries. Algeria gave every political and military support to the Sahara liberation movement Polisario and, as a consequence, war very nearly broke out between Morocco and Algeria. The tension between the two countries has by now relaxed somewhat but its causes remain. Both capitals rapidly increased their respective military budgets and concluded new contracts for purchase of armaments--again, one in the West, the other in the East.

And southern Africa. The decolonization of Angola triggered massive maneuvering around Rhodesia and Namibia. Negotiations between Smith and the Rhodesian nationalists, which had been carried over from the previous year, ended in a debacle--whereupon Smith, under pressure from the United States and the Union of South Africa, had to leave for Geneva to attend the conference on Rhodesia. The first part of this conference ended without accomplishing anything; the second part is supposed to begin shortly, or may never take place. In the latter case, military force will be brought to bear with armaments of American, French, British, South African, Soviet, and Chinese manufacture. Africa does not manufacture weapons but it makes up for this deficiency with imports.

Behind the above four crisis centers--the most prominent but not the only ones--rises the nowadays inevitable specter of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Each attempt at the regional solution of crises in southern or northwestern Africa now almost invariably winds up with the decision makers in Washington and Moscow, sometimes in one capital, other times in the other. This is a fact that can no longer be denied.

Moreover, it is probably also not possible to deny the fact that, for the two competing superpowers, individual African countries and regions where the two superpowers are vying for influence represent only pawns in a globally conceived game where superiority and influence in a polarized world is at stake. It does not matter whether this scramble is embellished by various kinds of rationale about supporting the national liberation movements or preserving the "free world." These rivalries can, here and there, indeed work to the advantage of some movements or states; but they certainly do not benefit the continent as a whole.

Unfortunately, these trends have found a hospitable ground in Africa. A continent that only 15 years ago formally wriggled out of the grip of colonialism has retained innumerable economic, cultural, linguistic, and ideological ties with their former metropolitan states and, when the power of these in world affairs began to decline, to their "logical" heir and successor--the United States. Upon attaining its formal independence, Africa simply was no longer of much interest to the West. With some states--primarily those with rich raw material resources--the West established a somewhat closer economic cooperation which, however, did not bring to these states the expected industrial revolution and rapid advances because of one-sided flow of resources. Nevertheless, there was at least some slight advantage to this. Other countries which either had no raw materials or opted for a socialist order, vague as this concept may be in Africa, were altogether ignored by the West. The same applied to the remnants of the former colonial empires where the national liberation movements were still fighting for freedom. From the Western point of view, the Portuguese colonies were a guarantee that Western influence will be preserved there.

This state of affairs was exploited by the Soviet Union. However, lacking the requisite economic power to drive out the West on the continental scale

in this manner, the Soviet Union attempted to gradually become entrenched within individual states and national liberation movements. This was done partly through economic aid and primarily with military aid. In this the Soviet Union was the more successful, because its aid of long standing to numerous liberation movements gained it a considerable respect. The West, aware of its economic superiority--according to rough estimates between 80 and 90 percent of African trade is still with the West--long took no notice of this "intrusion into its hunting grounds." A rapid change in Western reactions eventually occurred during the war in Angola, after the Cuban intervention. What the upshot of the war was is well known. The MPLA was victorious while both the United States and the Soviet Union seemed to have paused for breath. However, although the situation throughout southern Africa is very unclear because of the confusion in the "regional elements," and although it appears that neither side will make an unexpected move--if for no other reason, because of a change of administration in the United States--the objectives of both superpowers are fairly evident: The Soviet Union wants to consolidate the positions it gained while the United States wants to at least contain the further spread of Soviet influence. For southern Africa, which is the most critical of all the centers on the black continent--since it appears that the two superpowers are most likely trying to alleviate the tensions elsewhere, although in Rhodesia the "regional factors" have their own explosive potential that is difficult to control--this may imply that the Soviet Union will try to secure the ruling groups in Mozambique and Angola--both of which are beset by serious internal, particularly economic, difficulties--while the United States would like to accomplish a peaceful transfer of power to the black majority so that the impending fierce and lengthy war, the consequences of which no one can foresee, may be avoided. This time it appears that the United States is facing a rather difficult task because it can bring Smith to his knees only indirectly, through increased pressure upon Vorster. Carter's hands in this respect are tied, however, because of the economic and strategic importance of the Union of South Africa to the West.

Turning back to Africa as a whole: in its vacillation between the two superpowers it is--notwithstanding the increasingly stronger desires for genuine independence, examples of genuine independence, and declarations favoring nonalignment which, because of de-facto dependence, still frequently lack true substance--choosing between two illusory options. To put it bluntly, Africa is choosing between economic (Western) and military (Eastern) aid. No matter how justified the decision for one or the other option may seem from the viewpoint of individual capitals, such black or white decisions--particularly in the case of armaments--not only cannot lead to a solution but also cause harm to Africa as a whole while allowing Washington and Moscow to play their "African chess." However, to expect from Africa such as it is--within approximately 20 years after its liberation, partitioned with artificial state boundaries which divided entire peoples; that is to say, an Africa encumbered with the inherited controversies between the states and with even worse antagonisms within these same states, of which

some have elected the capitalist system and, because of their undeveloped economy, sunk into the savage European capitalism of the 19th and 18th centuries while others have declared themselves, formally at least, for the socialist order--to demand from this Africa to show greater unity than, for instance, the contemporary Europe split into two blocs would be nothing more than sloganeering.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIANS PIRATE MACEDONIAN HEROS, EVENTS

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 25 Jan 77 p 4

[Article by Filip Simonovski: "Anti-Macedonian Campaign in Bulgaria: The Misuse of Significant Names and Dates in the History of the Macedonian People Continues"]

[Text] Sofia-24 January--Bulgaria continues to misuse significant names and dates in the history of the Macedonian people in order to further intensify the anti-Macedonian campaign. The sudden activation of the press and television, however, is something new. They have recently come to the forefront and have been determining the character and the volume of these manifestations. Appearances by politicians and public officials, and even of some members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Party, have become increasingly numerous. In short, the campaign has currently acquired the character of a political directive, which means that it is dictated and coordinated from the highest places.

Television Program About the "Bulgarian Delcev"

The motivation for the most recent revival of nationalist pretensions is the 105th-anniversary of the birth of the Macedonian revolutionary Goce Delcev. Otherwise, after the case with Dame Gruev, whom the Sofia press last month itself described as "one of the most prominent Bulgarian patriots," it is currently being claimed that Goce Delcev is a "Bulgarian hero," "one among the six greatest Bulgarian patriots and heros in the whole of Bulgarian history."

Sofia television recognized the anniversary of "Bulgarian Delcev" with a 40-minute program, while the newspaper PIRINSKO DELO carried the statements of five of the most prominent Bulgarian social, scientific and cultural personalities concerning the "place and role of Delcev in Bulgarian national history."

The academician Khristo Khristov, who is the first one in this line, emphasizes that Goce Delcev "devoted his entire life to the cause of the national and anti-feudal liberation of the Bulgarian people," while Professor Dr Emil Georgiev compares Delcev, Sandanski and Gruev to Georgi Dimitrov in the "great Pleiad of Bulgarian heros." In the same tone is the statement by Professor Khristo Karanfilov, editor in chief of the Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT,

as are those by the other two persons interviewed--Krum Khristov and Dr Svetozar Toshev. Among a number of articles on Goce Delcev, the Bulgarian press also published excerpts from the as yet unpublished book "The Apostles of Bulgarian Liberty," in which the chapter on this Macedonian revolutionary is entitled "A Conqueror with a Knife in his Belt."

Macedonia Is Not a Remote Vision

Academician Panteley Zarev, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Party and president of the League of Bulgarian Writers, recently also came forth with a similar anti-Macedonian theme. He was popular last month as well with his published statement that the COMINFORM members from Yugoslavia "had found in Bulgaria a good shelter for their patriotic thoughts and communist ideals," for which they "could not find satisfaction" in their country. And now, again, this time in the book "Psychology and Literature," the academician claims that Macedonia "became a personal destiny for a number of Bulgarian writers." Panteley Zarev further quotes Ivan Vazov, who was the first one in 1876 to write about "Mizia, Dobrudza, Thrace and Macedonia as a single country," and Anton Strashimirov, who some 50 years later referred to the Vardar as a "Bulgarian Jordan where we would come each year to be baptised." "And what is Macedonia?" Finally asks this member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Party. "It is by no means a remote and imaginary vision," he says, "but a fatherland--a part of the totality of the Bulgarian community."

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHARTER '77: CRY OF DISTRESS

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 29 Jan 77 pp 46-50

[Article by Rene de Bok: "Charter '77: Cry of Distress from the Eastern Bloc"]

[Text] Since the publication of Charter '77, the cries of distress emanating from the Eastern Bloc have turned into an emphatic alarm. More than 300 Czechoslovaks have signed this daring manifesto which demands compliance with the Helsinki statement on human rights. Protests are raging in other countries as well: in Poland, in the GDR and in the Soviet Union. ELSEVIER casts some light on this new unrest in the Red Bloc.

At 1900 one evening, we had an appointment with Ludvik Vaculik in an ash gray street by the Liebknechtova in Prague. The street was deserted; it is not a neighborhood frequented by tourists. A car with foreign license plates is conspicuous there. For years Ludvik Vaculik has not been tolerated by the Czech regime. In 1968 he wrote the maligned "Manifesto of 2000 words."

This was the third time that we called on dissident Vaculik: twice we were received by his son. Vaculik was not at home; the son was very suspicious, our Dutch names inspired little confidence. Vaculik's housing is meager; the semi-dark staircase, where we tried to find our way to Vaculik's apartment, was chilly, damp and without paint. There was no sign of life. After ringing three times, Vaculik's son, a skinny youth wearing glasses, appeared. We left a letter for Vaculik behind. It included a suggestion for a meeting with the dissident, one of the torchbearers of the Prague Spring. He did not buckle under Husak's totalitarian system. He developed an immunity against the innumerable naggings and rude acts of the STB, the Czechoslovak secret service. When we arrived at his house, at the appointed time, there was not a soul in sight. Fifty meters further, a mysterious figure was standing at the corner; he looked in our direction. We crossed the street and passed the man. He looked at us and we went over to him. There was hesitation on both sides; was this a security agent? One can never be sure. Then the man whispered: "Holland...?"

Together with Ludvik Vaculik we drove through Prague, on Lidicka, Jecna, Jugoslaviska Streets we looked for an appropriate place to talk. Vaculik told us that he cannot talk at home: not only is his phone being tapped, his home has also been bugged. He knows it because a couple months ago, during a conversation at his home with a friend, he hinted at a new book which he had recently finished. The next day his house was turned totally upside down by security agents; they took his manuscript along; months of hard work went down the drain.

Vaculik said: "Little by little you become spun into a web of silence. Friends who know that you are being shadowed by the security police are afraid to talk to you. You are treated like a leper." Vaculik said that he does not let the rude treatment he is getting bother him. Still, he was being careful in the cafe; he whispered more than he spoke. He told us that he smuggles his literary work abroad; a special network of Western agents makes sure that Vaculik's work reaches the West so that he may enjoy the relative honor which is denied him, a tainted writer, in his own country. When we suggested that Vaculik ought to move to the West if life in his own country becomes unbearable, he answered without hesitation: "I prefer the communist doctrine above capitalism. Notwithstanding all the abuses in our country, I still believe in our system."

We took pictures of him in front of his house. He raised his hand and closed his fist. He knew that those pictures would be published in a Western magazine and that his words would be printed. "It does not matter. What happens here in Czechoslovakia, what happens in Russia or in Poland, has to go through the whole world."

This is what Vaculik said on 12 August 1975. Today, being one of the signers and one of the prominent figures behind Charter '77, he is again subject to the persecution and slander campaigns of the Czech regime. He was told that objectionable details of his private life would be published in government newspapers. In the state prison of Ruzyne, outside Prague, the secret police subjected Vaculik to a number of interrogations. The authorities are still not leaving dissident Vaculik alone.

This month, the secret police struck nearly simultaneously in Moscow, Warsaw and Prague, taking action against dissidents and fighters for civil rights. From the day after the Russian Christmas, 3 weeks ago, until the end of last week, Moscow was ravaged by successive bombings. The first explosion occurred in a proud monument to the Russian revolution. Western correspondents mentioned dozens of dead and wounded, while news from the press agency TASS remained sparse. New bombings occurred the same day near the dreaded citadel of the KGB [Committee for State Security], the Lubyanka, and near Red Square. For the Soviet authorities the bombings were the signal of the resentment of the masses; an omen of the revolt of the hordes, the direct result of the economic malaise in the Eastern Bloc. The state hit back bitterly: a wave of arrests raced through Moscow. Many arrests were also made in Prague, together with a publicity campaign against the dissidents.

The Czechoslovak press agency CTK made public accusations against four of the people who were arrested. Three of them had signed Charter '77. They were accused of serious criminal activities against the socialist foundations of the republic. The accusation stated that "they had entertained regular contacts with hostile foreign elements, emigrants and capitalist diplomatic missions in Prague." The state propaganda machine was working full blast to upset the reasoning and logic behind Charter '77. "Charter '77 is a counterrevolutionary document written on order from anticommunist and Zionist headquarters to be published in the West by the reactionary mass media." The whole arsenal of cliches was set in motion in order to expose Charter '77 as an objectionable product of capitalist origin.

The tactics followed by the regime in previous years, not reacting and letting dissidents' actions bleed to death, was shelved until quieter times. This time the system hit back. They did not hesitate to use powerless citizens as puppets. In Czechoslovak Pilzen, 300 workers at a steel plant protested "spontaneously" against the Charter; in no time hundreds of signatures were collected from workers who criticized and condemned the behavior "of a handful of subversive elements and lackeys of imperialist reaction." Neither did the regime shy away from using "popular compatriots" in the anti-campaign: the well known soccer player Viktor and the ex-Olympic track champion Zatopek did their part in the "massive indignation" of the Czechoslovak people about Charter '77.

The government of the Eastern Bloc countries were and still are unmistakably under great pressure. The trauma of the eruptions of 1953 in the GDR, of 1956 in Hungary, of 1968 in Prague, of 1971 in Lithuania, and of last year in the Polish cities of Radom and Ursus, have left deep scars in the Soviet ideal of unity. The Eastern Bloc regimes saw new dangers looming on the horizon: would the comrades make a grab for power, storm party offices and create utter chaos in the communist power bloc? It was decided not to let it come to that and to fight the regimes' opponents with adequate means. During the last few weeks, members of the Soviet movement for human rights in Moscow were caught in a strangle hold. The most prominent dissidents, Yuri Orlov and Alexander Ginsburg were arrested on the street and interrogated for hours. In Poland, members of the committee "for the defense of the workers," who had gone to the courthouse to attend the trial of workers who had been involved in last year's riots, were beaten with cudgels in the courthouse.

Reports of stricter attitudes towards dissidents turn up daily in the press. Not only is the situation explosive in the Soviet Union, the regimes in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR have also increased their activities against the "discontented." The dissidents themselves have also increased their own activities. Everywhere in the Eastern Bloc, the cleavage between the repressive power apparatus and the people is getting wider and deeper: since the Prague Spring things have no longer been going very well for the communist world order.

Vladimir Skutina lives in a Prague suburb. Until 21 August 1968 he was a popular radio and television personality in Czechoslovakia. Because he joined the Dubcek side, he was pushed aside after the Russian invasion of Prague. He could no longer find a job. Compared to the picture from the height of his career, Vladimir Skutina has become a wreck. In his rather shabby house on the outskirts of town, Skutina made a sad impression on us. He was happy about our coming and talked without emotion about the period following the Russian occupation of Prague, which has become pure torture for him.

For 18 months he was confined to a jail cell. He was neither questioned, nor was a complaint issued against him. When he asked why he had been arrested, the guards hit him with sticks on his bare body. After those 18 months he was set free without a single word or explanation. But he could not get any work. For a while he tried to work as a factory worker but because of his tainted past he was harassed out of that too. Vladimir Skutina lives in Prague with his wife, without hope and without the prospect of a flourishing future. There were tears in his eyes when we left; "I would like to leave Czechoslovakia," he said; but he sees little chance of getting official permission to leave the country.

Following the ELSEVIER publication of 23 August 1975, Skutina was arrested again and interrogated. The most incredible accusations were levelled at him. ELSEVIER was supposed to have offered him money to slander and lie about Czechoslovakia. Later Skutina was set free again. Even though he has become a human wreck, his mind keeps rebelling. Once again he has taken great personal risks in putting his signature to Charter'77.

These days the signers of the manifesto are being subjected to a battle of attrition which the regime has loosed against the dissidents. Security agents shadow their victims day and night. The state has taken away some dissidents' drivers license, has cut off their telephone service and does not let a single opportunity pass by to make life as bitter as possible for the "discontented." This week, ELSEVIER tried to contact a few leaders of the dissident movement, such as Paul Kohout, Milan Húbl and Zdenek Mlynar, but in the meantime their telephone service has been cut off.

But the power of the written word has already had a deep influence in the Eastern Bloc; no regime has been able to smother the cry of distress. It appears that the script is being written by the dissidents rather than by the hard pressed regimes.

The strong show of force by the Soviet regime clearly underlies the unhappiness which exists about the system. A regime which, full of assurance, predicted that by 1970 the standard of living of the ideal state of socialism would be higher than that of the United States of America. Sixty years after the October Revolution it is becoming increasingly hard for the citizens of the ideal state to recognize that personal sacrifices are necessary to endure the historically required trials on the way to a superior social system. The partisan generation is disappearing from the scene and the

youth measure communism by other standards. They compare the acquisitions of communism with the material and immaterial goods of the Free World. And they see that the comparison favors the West. A growing number of dissidents today dares to put this conclusion into words. The communist parties in the Eastern Bloc are alarmed, because, for the first time:

- the protest movements have become active simultaneously in the four most important countries of the Eastern Bloc -- the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia;

- the intellectuals are maintaining contact with the people;

- the dissidents are being backed by the communist parties in the West;

- the dissidents are moving within the framework of their own national laws and are appealing to the Treaty of Helsinki.

Since the Helsinki conference the image of the dissidents has undergone major changes. The dissidents are not concentrating their activities on setting up an alternative political system; rather, they stress faithful compliance with the socialist constitution and the Helsinki agreements, which were signed personally by Russian Communist Party Chairman Brezhnev. The Soviet Government has been greatly embarrassed by the activities of the so-called Helsinki group. It has attempted to impute a terrorist background to the dissident movement, which has provided the excuse to resort to crude force against the Helsinki group. To provide proof is easy. A German gun and a small package of dollar bills were found in the home of one of the Helsinki group dissidents in Kiev. The secret police discovered foreign currencies in Alexander Ginsburg's bathroom. The press agency TASS announced that house searches uncovered proof that the group maintained contacts with the fiercely anticommunist organization of emigrants, known as the NTS

[Natsional'nyy Trudovoy Soyuz]. Another dissident who has since been exiled to the West, Bukovskiy, was also labeled as a terrorist. At the beginning of the seventies he was supposed to have gathered a group of anti-Soviet elements around himself. The members of this group are supposed to have conducted target practice in the woods. The curious thing is that even though the Soviet security police claims to have already unmasked many terrorist pockets of resistance, the bombings are continuing. The opposition is more widespread than the authorities are willing to admit.

The cries of distress from Prague, even though less bloody, are no less dramatic. Charter '77 is a remarkable and courageous piece of work which will radiate as far as the recent bombing attacks in the Soviet Union. Even though the drafters of Charter '77 have presented their manifesto as non-political, the party newspaper RUDE PRAVO has put Charter '77 in a political context. The propaganda machine called the Charter group "a new foreign legion in the service of the wagers of cold war, political and social wrecks who have cut off all bridges to their own people."

Just as in Moscow and Kiev, the Prague police became active: during the last few days, Charter '77 co-signers Jiri Hajek, minister of foreign affairs under Dubcek, and reformer Frantisek Kriegel, who was deported to Moscow in 1968 and who was the only one to refuse to approve the Russian invasion, were subjected to strict interrogations; like author Vaclav Havel, who was

officially registered as a non-artist by the Czechoslovak minister of culture, they were held from morning till evening. Shortly before 2200 in the evening, the prisoners were set free because the police wanted to avoid the legal requirement to make up an arrest order.

But there are other ways to persecute the dissidents. Jiri Hajek experienced this at the end of last year when he was attacked by two strangers in a Prague suburb. They broke his glasses and took away his briefcase: there is no doubt that the secret police was behind the attack. Similar tricks are being used to frighten and discourage dissidents. It is a method which the secret police in Czechoslovakia have mastered to bloody perfection. During a police interrogation, a friend of Alexander Dubcek's, the historian Oldrich Jaros, was given to understand that he had better stop seeing Dubcek. Of course, there was no law to forbid him that, but it could happen that he might become the victim of a traffic accident. Sometimes such threats become reality. In July of last year, student leader Lubos Holecek, who came to the fore during the Prague Spring, was run over at a streetcar stop by an official of the Public Prosecutor's office. Holecek died shortly after the accident.

It is hard to imagine what ordeals dissidents in the Eastern Bloc will still have to endure. The first repercussions against dissidents in Czechoslovakia point to the fact that the regime will not tolerate anything like another Prague Spring. The former secretary of the Czechoslovak Central Committee of the Communist Party, Zdenek Mlynar, who made an appeal to the West European governments to help avoid a situation where the defenders of human rights in his country would, for the second time in 10 years, be silenced as harmful individuals, was fired from his job at the National Museum in Prague. The same fate has befallen other signers of the Charter '77.

We looked for Milan Packova at Borivojova Street, in the center of Prague. Until August 1968 Milan had been a journalist. He was fired. According to our information, in August 1975 he was working as a taxi driver. Nobody seems to know him. After a long search, we found him in a garden apartment. His financial situation was very bad. He had lost all confidence in the future. He said that sometimes he leaves his cab sitting in front of the house for days on end. He did not feel like taking fat Russian officers to Moskva, [Moscow] one of their favorite restaurants. In 1968 he had hoped for a change. "But," he said, "this regime cannot be driven away, not in a hundred years. Oh, you do get used to it, the way you get used to seeing a murder committed every day."

A shift seems to have taken place in the no prospect situation which Milan Patocka sketched in August 1975. Even if President and party leader Gustav Husak claims the opposite. After the Czechoslovak parliamentary elections in the fall of last year, Husak stated that there was no opposition in the country: 99.5 percent stood behind the government; out of 10 million people with the right to vote, only perhaps 3,000 in the whole country had a different opinion. The dissident movement is not disturbed by party leader Husak's statement; everybody knows that he did not choke on his first lie.

In a few weeks time, Charter '77 has become a word with wings, in the Eastern Bloc and also in the West. During the coming months, the distress signals are going to increase in strength and intensity. Not as long drawn-out death cries, but as signals of hope. Hope for a life in the Eastern Bloc, where human rights are not trampled under the boot of violence.

Daring Czechoslovak Manifesto Calls for Compliance With Human Rights
[Passage by Frank Lafort; pp 48-49]

"I am compelled to conclude that the present party line can be called /successful/. In this sense that social values have been destroyed but not a single conflict which led to the 1960 crisis in Czechoslovak society has been resolved," wrote Alexander Dubcek, the leading power behind the Prague spring (1966-1968), in a letter to the Czechoslovak parliament on 28 October 1974.

During the last year, current party leader Husak, speaking to the 15th party congress, felt compelled once again to point to the "continued struggle against rightist opportunism." Part of this campaign is the battle Husak is waging against the 300 signers of Charter '77, which was published this month. It is a manifesto drawn up by workers and intellectuals who plead for the restauration of civil rights and compliance with the Treaty of Helsinki. Among the signers are: the leader of the party university, Milan Hubl, recently released from jail; the former minister of foreign affairs (under Dubcek) Jiri Hajek; former politician Frantisek Kriegel; the former secretary of the Party Committee, Zdenek Mlynar; the former chairman of the student organization, Jiri Muller; writers such as Ludvik Vaculik and Pavel Kohout; dramatist Vaclav Havel; and historians Karel Bartosek and Jan Tesar. Aside from these well known intellectuals, numerous workers and officials have signed the manifesto, thus openly expressing their discontent with the current state system. "The publication recalls to mind with special emphasis how many of the basic rights of the citizens of our country are, for the time being, -- alas -- valid only on paper."

"One example would be the right of free speech," wrote the drafters of the basic statement.

"Repression"

The Charter illustrates this comment by pointing out that tens of thousands of citizens have been fired from their old jobs because they held opinions which were not consistent with those of the regime. Citizens who often are easy prey for the whims of the authorities and of social organizations. There is no way to free them from the strangle hold. "They become the victims of what can best be described as /apartheid/."

The right "to be free of fear" is a farce. According to the Charter, it is the children of the dissidents who are the victims of this. Czechoslovaks who dare to stand up for their opinion are punished through their children.

The school doors are kept closed for them. The right to education is taboo. The right to be informed does not exist.

"The freedom to express publicly your opinion is actively opposed by the central committees of all means of communication, publishers and cultural bodies." Since the fall of 1968, for example, the literary work of Pavel Kohout, one of the signers, has been forbidden. This is due to the fact that his work falls outside the narrow framework of official ideology. To register an appeal against this is not possible, wrote the originators of Charter '77.

Smear campaigns, waged by the Czechoslovak press, cannot be refuted by those involved. They are waged against scientific and cultural officials "because, years ago, they have held or preached an opinion which is condemned by the present political rulers." Even the church does not escape the straight-jacket. "Freedom of religion," according to the basic statement, "does not exist." Priests live under constant pressure. At any moment the state could relieve the clergymen of their jobs.

"Controls"

Charter '77 points to the total arbitrariness which prevails in Czechoslovakia. Legislation takes place in obscure organizations. The Czechoslovak rulers are accountable to no one except themselves and their own party. This is true while their enactments have a deep impact on the social structure and they create a society in which little or no civil rights remain. "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs interferes in the most diverse ways with the activities of the citizens. Bugging of telephones and homes, mail control, personal surveillance, house searches, informers who may or may not be working under threat for the government, these are but a few of the means used by this ministry. These practices are not regulated by law, but they are secret. The citizen has no opportunity to defend himself."

Mistreatment

In jail, political prisoners receive a treatment which is supposed to break them morally, which endangers their health and which is contrary to human dignity. The secret police dragged Mrs Kohout into a car which took off at very high speed. Kohout himself, whose telephone service has been cut off in the meantime, has been evicted from his apartment and arrested. During the past week, dramatist Havel was interrogated for 50 hours and Professor Jan Patocka fainted as a result of long interrogations and mistreatments. The RUDE PRAVO, mouthpiece of the Communist Party, is directing a campaign against the signers which turns the words of the Charter into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Involvement

Why this document now? The drafters of the Charter answer themselves. "The feeling of co-responsibility, a belief in the meaning of civil

involvement, the will and overall need to find new and effective means of expression to this effect has led us to prepare Charter '77."

In contrast to the Polish "Committee," in which dissident Orlov plays an important role, the initiators never had the idea of creating an organization. Furthermore, Charter '77 is not the basis from which to lead an opposition. They only want to serve the common good. Seen in perspective: to conduct a constructive dialogue with the political rulers. The name was chosen to rub the nose of the authorities in the fact that the conference of Belgrade will be held this year. It is to be a meeting during which countries which signed the declaration of Helsinki, will check whether the agreements have been adhered to. The goals of these conferences are to ensure that the citizens of Europe will be able to live as free people. Charter '77 is trying to help in this way.

8463

CSO: 3105

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHARTER '77 NO GATEWAY TO IMPERIALISM

Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovenian 3 Feb 77 p 9

[Commentary by Janko Tedesko: "Magna Carta 77"]

[Text] With unusually sharp pejoratives, threats, and name calling, the Czechoslovak press attacked the signers of Charter '77, a "free informal and open association of people of various opinions, callings, and religions, joined together by the desire to request individually and jointly the honoring of civil and human rights in our country and in the world" The charter is neither an "organization" nor a "base for political opposition." The signers ask strictly for the respect and implementation of two international conventions on civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, which Czechoslovakia had signed in 1968, and which were confirmed also at the conference on European security and Cooperation in Helsinki in 1975. Representatives of the charter, which had been signed by nearly 300 prominent cultural and (former) political personages, are jurist Dr Jan Patocka, dramatist, Vaclav Havel, and Prof Jiri Hajek, foreign minister in the Alexander Dubcek government.

In the case of Charter '77, which has stirred up the Czechoslovak public and has encountered considerable response in the world, both in the bourgeois and capitalist press, the following facts stand out:

Certain prominent signers of this charter had been connected with the "1968 Czechoslovak Spring," or were its full proponents. This applies also to people who had to lose their positions after the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia because their politics or cultural activity were not in conformity with the new political course.

Charter '77 is not an isolated example of the attention of the government being called to deficiencies and social contradictions. The late Josef Smrkovsky, leader of the Czechoslovak resistance during the war and president of the Parliament during the Dubcek period, also wrote a similar protest letter. Dubcek himself, in a letter to the current leadership, also called attention to certain problems of the country which needed to be solved. Both events failed to raise any stir.

The charter was written after the Berlin Conference of European Communist Parties, where "a national road to socialism" was sanctioned, and during the year of the Belgrade Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

At the time of the writing, the Czechoslovak economy and agriculture were unsatisfactory; great efforts were needed by everyone to dig the country out of its morass. The charter also came at a time when the political leadership had to face up to the real difficulties.

If we believe the charter, there exists in the CSSR a violation of human rights, and discrimination, and people who think and do differently than the official political line are suppressed. In contrast, however, Czechoslovak newspapers assert that nothing more is involved here than an imperialist plot, that the signers are agents of imperialism, who have sold themselves out for a fistful of dollars, renegades and enemies of socialism. Judging from this, every word of the charter has been concocted and is grist for the mills of reaction. The West has propagated the action of the signers far and wide in order to harm Czechoslovak socialism. The assertions of the Czechoslovak press are reinforced by the fact that certain signers had once been arrested (which is a proof that they are really agents of imperialism!?). It ought to be noted, however, that the Czechoslovak press does not mention that, let us say, L'UNITA, the organ of the PCI and EL MUNDO, the PCE organ are opposed to having the signers persecuted and called names, or having their human, work, and political rights suppressed.

We have before us two different opinions, which are mutually exclusive. It seems that, at least for now, dialog between the two is impossible. Are people such as Kohout, Vaculik, Havel, and Patocka really "lackeys of imperialism?" As much as we know about them from their deeds, they are not, unless they have become corrupted recently. Then is the charter right? To this we get the answer that the persecuted ones are merely enemies of Czechoslovak socialism.

What is the truth, then?

At this time, it is difficult to conceive of a Europe (or a world) which would not be divided into two blocks. Any kind of change in any state of one of the blocs would disturb the equilibrium between the great powers, therefore any attempt to make such a change is doomed a priori. For example, the Italian communists openly come out in favor of having Italy remain in NATO, and adhere to the capitalist nature of the means of production and to cooperation with Catholics. We call that political realism. Is there a lack of political realism among the signers of Charter '77? We doubt that the charter opens the door to imperialism in the CSSR. All it is concerned with is abiding by the Helsinki agreements, which some interpret one way, and others a different way.

BULGARIA

INCREASED RESTRICTIONS ON DISSIDENTS REPORTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Feb 77 p 4 LD

[Unattributed report: "The White House Confirms That Carter Will Receive Bukovsky"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted concerning President Carter's meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau, invitation to Soviet dissident Bukovsky] According to information supplied by certain representatives of Bulgarian emigres in Vienna, the Bulgarian authorities have taken a number of preventive measures with respect to personalities in the literary world who at one time refused to support the official condemnation of Aleksander Solzhenitsyn.

It would appear that two writers--both Dimitrov Prize winners--Valeri Petrov and Khristo Ganey, the latter a son of a former Education Minister, have been warned against the possible consequences of their demonstration of support for the Czechoslovak dissidents. It seems that the same treatment has been applied to novelists Kocho Kochev and Kamen Kalochev. The latter has been in disgrace since 1975, when he was dismissed from the post of Chief Editor of SEPTEMVRI Magazine.

According to Mr Tabakov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee in exile, copies of LE MONDE in which the text of the Charter 77 was published were seized in Sofia. It has been reported that 40 intellectuals have been' interrogated, of whom 14 have been detained. A further incident has just been reported: The seizure of the daily newspaper NARODNA MLADEZH, organ of the Communist Youth Organization, which published at the end of January a report on criticisms of the authorities by two satirical writers--Radoi Ralin and Boris Dimovski--who, even though vilified by the authorities for some time now, had been invited by a youth club in the Bulgarian capital.

CSO: 3100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERVIEW WITH CZECHOSLOVAK DISSIDENT VACULIK

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 3 Feb 77 p 9

[Interview with Ludvik Vaculik took place in Prague January 1977, by Giorgio Ursic Ursini]

[Text] This interview with Ludvik Vaculik took place in Prague last month while the Czechoslovak writer, together with other intellectuals, was drawing up "Charter 77" of which he was one of the principal authors and most illustrious signers.

Ludvik Vaculik, born in 1926, was a workman and journalist before becoming a writer. Member of the CPCZ from 1946 on, he was expelled in 1967 and again in 1969 after a brief rehabilitation during the Prague Spring and after having taken part in composing the "2,000 Word Manifesto." He now lives completely isolated from his country's political and intellectual life. He was formerly editor in chief of LITERARNY LISTY. In 1966 he published the novel "The Ax" in Prague and in 1971 in Lucerne, Switzerland "The Guinea Pigs" (published in Italy by Garzanti in 1974, translated by Serena Vitale), which was not permitted to appear in Czechoslovakia.

[Question] How are you?

[Answer] If someone finds out that you have spoken with me and then with Kohout, Havel, Kosik and who knows how many others of this type, it is certain that you will not leave here with any interview. Be more cautious; write the entire thing at least twice and find a secondary means of transmitting it.

[Question] Is it so terrible here for an intellectual?

[Answer] I would say that it is not at all terrible; it is almost normal. True horrors occur elsewhere in the world: Angola, Palestine, various concentration camps. Here there is--thanks to God--calm and a certain security. Everyone here is assured of finding work, for example. But there is also the assurance that one will be discharged from an interesting job as soon as one is expelled from the party. For example, everyone has the right to study. But every person knows very well that the children of "unsuitable" parents

will never enter the university unless through strange forms of protection and corruption. A young person's talent has almost no value. I am telling you what I see: the university students of today spell worse than the elementary students of my time. If you watch the political discussions on television, you will note the poor language used! And what a dearth of ideas! To be sure, all that is nothing compared with the hunger that exists in some parts of Asia. But try listening to how a politician begins a sentence, and you will already know how he is going to finish. Isn't it all dreadful? Of course not. But it all makes me vomit, and, naturally, only one who is satiated can do that. In Bratislava some time ago they fired at 20 works of sculpture: some because they were abstract (or formalistic, as they call them), others because they were made by sculptors on the black list who had defected to the West. Is blood flowing? No. But it sends chills up one's back. Perhaps as a foreigner, you do not feel it; but one who must educate his children here feels it deeply.

[Question] To my knowledge, you do not have a job. Why?

[Answer] I cannot find a job other than one which is not worth the time wasted. Great numbers of people, perhaps 100,000, have had to accept these types of work. And this is heroic, a mark of high morale; but it is also cruel, for the majority of such people have had to give up their original profession or their interests.

[Question] And how do you live then, all of you? I am referring to the non-aligned intellectuals.

[Answer] That is a fair question. It gives me the opportunity to belie the perfidious insinuations that we have money from the CIA to help us. I live from the meager proceeds of the publication of my books abroad, unfortunately not very substantial. In a way, the Italian edition of my book "The Guinea Pigs," published by Garzanti, has helped somewhat. This enables me to work on my next book; but too many things make me angry and disturb my activity. Part of this is perhaps a defect in my character, for which I can blame no one; another part, on the contrary, is stronger than any will to act. And at times one can do nothing against these inner discouragements. For example, some time ago during a search they confiscated many things among which was the manuscript of that book, and up to now they have not returned it to me; and all this was done without even telling me of what crime I was guilty. And, in addition, literary work perforce requires an order, which is not expressed only in contracts and terms of delivery of the completed book but also in acceptance by the literary critics and in the social atmosphere surrounding a writer. This is what is lacking. Individuals more capable than I, or rather more introverted, might remain seated at their work table writing and writing as, for example, my friend, Klima, and Kosik.

[Question] What are you working on now?

[Answer] I really write continuously. How much time I spend at the machine writing! At times frail results are forthcoming but, more often, protests and complaints. I devote much time to the activities of those whom I believe you know; I am busy, along with others, transcribing literary works that cannot be published. There are already more than 80 such documents, and they concern prose, the theater and poetry. These works are read by at least a restricted group of people in the form of authorized manuscripts. This is of great assistance to readers and especially to authors, whereas the "official" writers are hamstrung. Moreover, in conjunction with friends who were in the habit of writing for literary periodicals, we have begun what could be called a game: we write short stories that we call "feuilletons," and we exchange them among ourselves. This is a form of protest against the miserable state of the newspapers. But hold on! We do not write these stories in complete freedom, as though they were for free newspapers! They would arrest us. We write more or less as they wrote in Novotny's time, under censorship. In my opinion, this is an example of how we should write at the present time, if this regime wished to give the impression of a certain elegance, of broadness of views and if it had a little understanding of the multiplicity of ideas, interests, moods and human expression.

[Question] Are you still able to find contentment in the condition of limited expression in which you live?

[Answer] A very fine question. I remember an event which occurred before 1967. At that time I was still editor in chief of LITERARNY LISTY and I was in the midst of a very hard confrontation with the press section of the party's Central Committee. Those comrades let go at me with all the weapons at their disposal. I now consider that confrontation quite positive in that they permitted us to go home afterwards, select from the recordings of the discussion any portion we pleased and then put into writing whatever conclusions we wished. Except that they criticized us again afterwards. At a certain point during that terrible meeting, the head of the press section (his name was Auersperg) approached me smiling and said: "We were just wondering, here among the comrades, why that Vaculik is a continuous problem, but we were also wondering if, at times, he is capable of making love." I remember that I gave them tit for tat, somewhat offended and looking down my nose at them: "Yes, comrades, I make love, but it continues to serve no purpose." And so, in answer to this question (somewhat similar in certain aspects), I say: "These days, I can speak to you joyfully only of my new hat. I bought myself a hat such as I had wanted for a long time. Here is a photograph showing me with that new hat; now I am ashamed to wear it."

[Question] Why?

[Answer] I shall answer with an illustration: I am very nervous; I can no longer write by hand. I use the typewriter not only in place of the pen but, at times, also in place of the mouth. For example, someone rings; I go to

open the door; it is a friend who says he must tell me something very important. I invite him to come in, put a sheet of paper in the machine, and he types: "There is a certain young Italian who wants to interview you." "Only me, or whom else?" "He wants to interview Havel, Kohout, Kosik." "What sort of person is he? He's not an idiot, is he?" "It seems not," he is a friend of our friends." "Where does he want to meet me?" "Tomorrow--at such and such a place." And thus I came, as you see. I burned that sheet of paper. All that is terrible? Not at all. We only have to get into the habit. And now, please, give my hearty greetings to our friends and comrades. I am absolutely convinced that, in the so-called edification of socialism, only those without humor will get ahead; there will be no room for poetry, metaphor or somewhat "strange" sculptures. And there will be no room for a truly human socialism.

8568

CSO: 3104

EAST GERMANY

GREATER DISCIPLINE, ORDER URGED FOR WORKERS MILITIA UNITS

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German No 2, Feb 77, p 3

[Article by Political Science Diplomate Waldemar Sperling, lieutenant colonel in the People's Police: "Your Class Duty, Comrade! To Insure High Vigilance, Security-Consciousness, Discipline and Order"]

[Text] In the workers militia, just as in the other armed forces, great attention is devoted to high vigilance and security-consciousness as well as strict military discipline and order. Why? Because conscious observance and consistent implementation of these attributes by all commanding officers, noncommissioned officers and militiamen to a decisive degree determine constantly high fighting strength and combat readiness.

High combat readiness and fighting strength are unthinkable without iron discipline, organization and order. Their further consolidation is, therefore, a fundamental political concern, a fighting task for all military superiors, a party mission for all party groups in the units and for each individual communist, an irrevocable duty of every member of the workers militia.

This demanding task cannot be fulfilled through a one-time measure or through appeals; it requires all superiors and the party groups in platoons, on the basis of the educational work performed in the party organizations, to exercise constant uniform and clearly oriented political and military influence.

Conscious military discipline is a reliable reflection of the sum total of political and military education and training. Conscious military discipline means, above all, comprehension of the need for unconditional, exact and timely execution of commands, orders, instructions and requirements of service regulations, punctuality and dependability, organization and deep understanding of one's personal responsibility in fulfilling the tasks of the workers militia.

It is this comprehensive interpretation that has been presented by Marshal Grechko in assessing conscious discipline and organization of all personnel as the most important element of the combat readiness of the troops. This standard makes it clear that an evaluation of military discipline must show the inseparable connection of essential factors of combat readiness.

Such a standard makes it inadmissible that merely the number of the comrades being held responsible or the violation of general military order are made the basis of the evaluation of discipline. This does not mean by any means condonance of certain phenomena of disorder or trivialization of certain aspects of order. Observance of all aspects of military order is an essential prerequisite of the assessment of military discipline. In his book "Questions of Party Political Work," Army General Yepishev emphasizes, i.a., that those commanding officers and political organs act properly that judge the state of discipline in a unit by its general state, by the level of its combat readiness and by the effectiveness of those educational measures which were taken for the consolidation of the discipline and fighting potential of the military collective.

In the workers militia, all necessary prerequisites exist for further consolidating military discipline and order and for insuring constantly high revolutionary vigilance and security-consciousness. The most important element of this is a high state of awareness and increased political maturity of all members of the workers militia.

Political realizations and convictions as well as the required knowledge of service regulations, however, have not led to high discipline and order automatically and on their own. Experience has shown that effective instillation of conscious discipline presupposes the kind of organization and arrangement of political education, of the service and of all military life which make the need for it so clear--i.e. make everyone so conscious of it--that every member of the workers militia understands the need and is persuaded to behave in a disciplined manner, to exercise strict security-consciousness and always to observe great order.

What is needed to achieve this?

1--The most important element has been, is and remains the constant systematic political-ideological education of all members of the workers militia in the basic organizations of the SED and during service by commanding officers and party groups in platoons. Party and workers militia assemblies and personal conversation are tested methods of attaining political clarity about the role and tasks of the workers militia and the individual militiaman, about the duties deriving from his allegiance, about the size of the demands of the tasks set and about the need for constantly high fighting strength and combat readiness of the workers militia. They are the more effective the closer they are tied to reality, to the whole life of the workers militia. All experience has confirmed that. As a firm component of the leadership activity of all commanding officers, they are the decisive basis for measurably increasing the fighting value of each unit.

2--Word and action, the political motive and the educational process must always agree. The commanding officer is, therefore, obliged to organize the course of the day of training accurately, on the basis of regulations and plans, and to hold strictly to the training curriculum. He must

participate in creating the most favorable prerequisites for enabling the militiamen purposefully to meet the obligations they have assumed in socialist competition. Exactitude and organization, punctuality and strictly organized control over the execution of orders and instructions, the strictest order in everything, including even "trivia"--that is the climate of strict conscious discipline in which the disciplined behavior of all militiamen and commanding officers can be further pronounced and consolidated. Discipline is the mother of victory, the saying goes rightly.

Every commanding officer should constantly keep in mind that training which has not been thoroughly prepared and insufficiently thought through favors freewheeling, instances of lack of discipline and violations of discipline and order.

3--Violations of the principles of vigilance and security-consciousness must be effectively prevented. This begins with the required instructions, continues with the exemplary influence of superiors and all communists and ends with the necessary controls before and after any training. This, e.g., also prevents losses of training materials, regulations and other documents. Every commanding officer must carefully think about how to prepare thoroughly for the set instruction in vigilance and security-consciousness. For, after all, it is not just a question of reaching all members of the workers militia but a question of exercising persuasive political-educational influence on them. Formal instructions do not serve the desired purpose, because they are not taken seriously to the required extent and have little educational value. Apart from the significance and necessity of the unconditional preservation of state and military secrets, particularly also the requirements of the protection of secrets must be explained comprehensively.

If we correctly proceed from the premise that the unabatedly continuing and increased military armament of the countries of the imperialist war pact, as well as the heightened efforts of ideological diversion and subversive activity by the class enemy, as ever entail the danger of conflicts and military war adventures, then this realization must also reveal itself in all our practical activity, whether at work in the plant or in the service of the workers militia. It is our class duty to confront any and all violations of vigilance and security-consciousness, discipline, order and security. Thus we make a decisive contribution to the further all-sided strengthening of our socialist fatherland.

8790

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

TWO ADDITIONAL VOLUMES OF NEW MARX-ENGELS COLLECTION PUBLISHED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4/5 Dec 76 p 10

[Brigitte Hering interview with Dr Hannes Skambraks, sector head in Marx-Engels department of SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism, which jointly with the same institute of the CPSU CC publishes the "Complete Collected Works of Marx-Engels" (Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe, MEGA): "'Critique of Political Economy' Published for the First Time in Its Entirety--On Two New Volumes of MEGA." For related information see JPRS 66241, TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE--POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS No 1164, 28 Nov 75, pp 51-56]

[Text] After the first two volumes of the Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA) were published a year ago, now two additional volumes have been published. In the following interview, Dr Hannes Skambraks discusses the content and the chief publishing principles of MEGA.

[Question] Dr Skambraks, the first volumes of both the first and third section of MEGA were published last year. The two new volumes both belong to the second section that deals with "Das Kapital," and you belong to its editorial board. Which manuscripts are contained in the two new volumes?

All Text Development Documented in Detail

[Answer] First a few remarks about the structure of MEGA. For reasons of content and to improve usability and clarity, MEGA is published in four sections. The first contains all the works, writings and manuscripts by Marx and Engels with the exception of "Das Kapital." The second contains the main work of Marx, "Das Kapital," and this includes the editions, by Marx or Engels, of all volumes of "Das Kapital" as well as all sketches for "Das Kapital." This section will have a total of 23 volumes. The third section contains the entire correspondence between Marx and Engels, all letters written by Marx and Engels to third persons and received by them from third persons and even excerpts from letters in which contemporaries say something about Marx and Engels. The fourth section mainly offers excerpts by Marx and Engels from literature they studied -- of that there are thousands of manuscript pages -- and surveys, notebooks, marginalia and other scientific "raw material."

Now back to your question: The second section of MEGA starts with the "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy" written in 1857/1858 and constituting the first raw sketch for the later "Das Kapital." Here Marx mainly worked out the foundations of his value and surplus value theory. Since the work has been published several times in the past, no detailed explanation is called for.

One remark has to be made, however: The MEGA "Principles" -- as all other volumes -- offer the researchers and future editors of study editions of this text something entirely new. Through copious footnotes the entire development of the text as come down through the manuscripts is being documented in detail. It starts with the reproduction of all words, sentences and so forth that were initially put down by Marx and later scratched and runs all the way to the reprinting of entire pages of text which Marx later eliminated. One can literally take part in the development of the ideas, in the struggle Marx carried on searching for the best terms, and that is sometimes truly exciting.

Volume II/1,1 then still contains two smaller manuscripts, the sketch on the history of theory entitled "Bastiat und Carey," in which Marx scorns the "theory" of class harmony, and then a raw draft, "Introduction," which Marx originally had in mind for his main oeuvre. Volume II/1,1 was produced in the CPSU Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism and reviewed by comrades in our institute.

[Question] To be produced in one and be reviewed in the other institute, is that the rule?

[Answer] Yes. Each MEGA volume gets prepared, scientifically and editorially, in one of the two institutes independently to reach the form in which it is to be printed. Associates in the fraternal institute then do a thorough checking job that ends in an evaluation. Fruitful and stimulating discussions are held before, during and after the work is done. Suggestions are checked, recommendations are absorbed, and only then the volume goes to the printer's. It is by no means an empty phrase to state explicitly: Each MEGA volume is a joint product of the two editorial institutes in Moscow and Berlin.

[Question] According to recent press reports, the other new volume in the second section contains an economic manuscript by Karl Marx that is being published for the first time.

[Answer] Yes, the entire volume II/3,1 is brand-new. It was done at our institute by a collective under Dr Artur Schnickmann. Over 300 printed pages of an original Marx publication -- that is a first-rate scientific event right there. Also in terms of its content, this volume has unearthed a genuine treasure for science.

In terms of the history of theory we have here the most important connecting link between the "Principles" of 1857/58 and the first volume of "Das Kapital."

That is the manuscript titled "Critique of Political Economy" which was written between 1861 and 1863. In it Marx goes far beyond the "Principles" not only theoretically but also with regard to the overall structure of his chef-d'oeuvre and more and more approaches the structure of the work that he later published together with Engels.

Nothing Has Changed in the Nature of Exploitation

The theoretical insights in the now published manuscript, for all intents and purposes, are grouped around two main complexes. One deals with the relation between capital and labor, the exchange between the two, connected with a detailed elaboration of the doctrine on commodities as labor. The other complex is a close and detailed investigation of the production of absolute and of relative surplus value. Both complexes in turn are closely connected with each other, especially through the answer to that great question which had frustrated all bourgeois economic science before Marx, the question, that is, whether the production of surplus value takes place on the basis of, and without violation to, the value law or not. Here Marx furnishes the answer to the question of the class struggle, still a very timely and topical question today, whether exploitation is an "excrecence" of capitalism, an incidental instance of the workers' being "taken for a ride" by one entrepreneur or another, that is to say, a more or less contingent manifestation -- or a general objective inevitability of the capitalist mode of production. Marx irrefutably proves that the latter is the case.

[Question] Bourgeois ideologists are wont to claim nowadays that capitalism has changed so much during the last century that it can no longer be explained by the ideas that Karl Marx had. Those ideologists deny the effect of the surplus value law in state monopoly capitalism, declare the doctrine on commodities as labor obsolete and would wish to present capitalist exploitation as a fortunately closed chapter of the past.

[Answer] Marx in his manuscript of the "Critique of Political Economy" dealt thoroughly with the specific nature of commodities as labor the worker has to sell to the capitalist. Marx demonstrates that in "creating more exchange value" than labor needs to maintain itself lies the "specific intrinsic value" of commodities as labor. And it is immaterial whether "one assumes a higher or lower level of workers' needs," or whether there are differences between country and country or between one period and another. This is what Marx writes about it in the now published manuscript: "The question about changing levels in workers' needs affects the general relation with capital as little as does the rise and fall of the market price of labor funds above or below such levels."

How much Marx was proven right especially in this point is something that millions of workers and employees in the industrially developed capitalist countries are finding out today. In times of economic crises, when the market value of the commodity of labor goes down radically, they are being dumped overboard. Right now, the United States has 7.6 unemployed, the EEC, 5.5 million, and 35 percent of them are young people. Many of these

young unemployed are discovering, even before they have entered the job market, that under capitalism they have a chance only when they are useful to capital. As human beings they are inconsequential to the entrepreneurs. All the capitalists are interested in is the commodity of labor which, depending on the market situation, they either buy or do not buy.

"The abject hypocrisy of the bourgeois civilization," Marx wrote, "and the barbarism that cannot be divorced from it are exposed to our view undisguised as soon as we turn our eyes from the homeland, where they appear under more respectable forms, to the colonies, where they appear in all their nakedness." Few words are needed to confirm the truth of that for present days -- apartheid, racism, starvation wages, brutal aggression against any liberation movement

[Question] MEGA emerges not only through close cooperation with the Soviet comrades but also through the interdisciplinary cooperation that has been fostered among GDR social scientists. Who are the most important partners of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism in the "Das Kapital" section?

[Answer] There is, first of all, a research team of the Marxism-Leninism section of the Martin Luther University in Halle/Wittenberg under Prof Dr Wolfgang Jahn. How closely we are working together might best be shown with regard to the volume under discussion here.

We now are jointly editing the whole bulky manuscript of the "Critique of Political Economy" by Marx, written between 1861 and 1863. It comprises approximately 1,500 manuscript pages in 23 notebooks. Anyone who is familiar with the tiny, compressed and abbreviated handwriting of Marx will believe my saying that these 1,500 manuscript pages will make up 3,000 printed pages in MEGA. That cannot all go into one volume. Thus the manuscript will come out in six installments, the first one of which as volume II/3.1 of MEGA. The second installment is being readied by the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, the third and fourth, in Halle, and the fifth and sixth again by us.

It goes without saying that discussions and consultations on editorial problems and mutual consultation on research matters are as indispensable as they are stimulating for both partners. Entirely new and permanent cooperation relations have originated and developed here.

[Question] What will be the next volumes of the second section of MEGA?

[Answer] In the summer of 1977 the second installment of that 6-part volume will come out which contains that giant 1861-1863 manuscript. It will contain the first part of the "surplus theories." Installments 3 and 4 will carry the continuation and conclusion of the "theories." Installments 5 and 6 will continue Marx' elaboration of economic theory. These two installments again will publish texts by Marx of which 90 percent had not previously been published. While I cannot yet give exact deadlines, we hope all installments will be finished by 1980. In the early '80's then, this Marx manuscript, still unknown to the public in its entirety, will be completely available.

EAST GERMANY

TV COOPERATION WITH PORTUGAL, ANGOLA, GREECE AND ETHIOPIA NOTED

East Berlin FF DABEI in German No 7 Feb 77 p 3

/Text/ Recently GDR television has expanded its contacts and cooperation with television stations of other countries and has entered into contracts with them. Negotiations took place at the end of last year in Berlin on expanding the exchange of programs with Portuguese television. The guests expressed their desire to import cultural, musical and childrens' programs from the GDR. Episodes from the childrens' program "Ferdinand the Clown" and the series "Salut Germain" have already been broadcast in Portugal.

In order for GDR television to continue its solidary support for television in the People's Republic of Angola, it was agreed to expand the sending of GDR programs and also to intensify the transfer of experience by sending experts to Angola.

Leading coworkers of Greek television have expressed interest in GDR productions--especially in childrens', musical and cultural films--during negotiations with GDR television. Moreover, both stations want to increase the mutual exchange of programs with the partner nation.

An agreement on further cooperation has been concluded within the framework of the already existing friendly contacts between GDR television and Ethiopian television. In addition to exchanging television programs and topical film material, plans are being made for solidary support for Ethiopian television by means of accepting trainees in GDR television.

Production of joint reports on both countries is to be continued.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

INTERNATIONAL INTEREST IN GDR TV

East Berlin FF DABEI in German No 48, Nov 76 p 2

[Text] A 4-day conference held in Berlin was dedicated to expanding and intensifying international cooperation between GDR television and television stations of 13 African, Arab, Asian and Latin American countries. For the first time, representatives of television stations of Laos, Ghana, Tanzania and Peru attended a program discussion. The representatives declared that they were interested in GDR television chiefly because these broadcasts promote understanding between peoples and also support the aims of educational policies of the young national states. Ghislein Mougabio, deputy director of Congolese television, praised the exchange of programs with the socialist countries as an important contribution to the extirpation of the intellectual and moral bequests of colonialism. Phiang Pheng, deputy director of Laotian radio, emphasized that his country, which is just now beginning with the construction of a television station, would be able to solve the associated problem only with the help of the socialist countries. Moises Prieto, director of Peruvian television, said that the positive resonance of the GDR program broadcast in Peru on 17 October 1976 has confirmed him in his resolve to intensify the exchange of programs with the GDR.

Ahmed Bekahla, director for international relations of Algerian television, especially praised the GDR's offer of childrens' programs.

8186

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

AUTO TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS--The transit routes between the FRG and West Berlin are the most accident-prone autobahns in the GDR, as was just announced in East Berlin. In the last winter half-year, 117 traffic accidents per 100 kilometers occurred on the Berlin-Marienborn and Berlin-Hirschberg autobahn stretches. In third place in rate of accidents in the Dresden-Eisenach stretch with about 105 accidents per 100 kilometers. Of all the automobile accidents in the GDR, 60.2 percent occur on these 3 stretches, which make up 42 percent of the total length of the autobahn system in the GDR. The average number of automobile accidents per 100 kilometers of GDR autobahn in 1975/1976 was 73. Among the large cities of the GDR, East Berlin leads in the number of accidents, followed by Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Potsdam. GDR traffic police expect a further rise in traffic accidents in the current winter half-year. This was conceded by Heribert Mally, the responsible main department chief in the Ministry of the Interior. He said the number of accidents have steadily risen in the past winter half-years and had reached the highest level so far in 1975/1976 with 26,531 traffic accidents, and that in a relatively mild winter. This tendency has continued in the months of October and November of this year. In Mally's opinion, the chief causes of accidents are unwarranted speed, illegal passing, and not yielding the right of way. The accidents on curves and on winding roads have increased considerably. This is an increase of about 50 percent over the same time frame of last year. [Text] [Bonn IWE TAGESDIENST in Germany 7 Dec 76 p 2] 8186

POSTAL AGREEMENT VIOLATION--The federal government intends once again to take action against the practice of not marking mail going to West Berlin with the letter "D" before the ZIP code. A spokesman of the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic in East Berlin yesterday informed the DPA [Germany Press Agency] in reply to an inquiry that in a short time the mission would bring up the matter for discussion in the responsible offices of the "GDR." The use of the letter "D" in sending mail from the "GDR" to West Berlin was adopted in the postal agreement negotiated last year between the Federal Republic and the "GDR." In accordance with this agreement, mail sent from the West to East Berlin is to be marked with the letter "GDR." Whether an order has gone out from the "GDR" offices to drop marking with the letter "D" is so far not known in East Berlin. According to the DPA, it was declared in the Senat that the practice as observed so far is not at all uniform. [Text] [Bonn DIE WELT in German 28 Jan 77 p 12] 8186

SOME LESSONS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Prague WORLD MARXIST REVIEW in English No 1, Jan 77 pp 4-12

[Article by Janos Kadar, first secretary, CC Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]

[Text] SUCH events in Hungary's modern history as the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919; the fascist Horthy regime between the two world wars; the second victory of working-class power in 1948, after the country's liberation; the 1956 counter-revolutionary rising and its subsequent suppression, show that the class struggle in Hungary has often been extremely intensive and has clear and unforgettable lessons for us.

The path traversed by our Party and working class was not an easy one. In our long struggle successes alternated with setbacks. The facts show that the Party has drawn the necessary lessons and that our working class and people emerged from these ordeals with added strength. The 11th Congress of the HSWP in the spring of 1975 had every right to declare, in its assessment of the situation: "Over the past 20 years the internal situation has been stable, development has been steady and dynamic, the people accept the Party's leadership, working-class power and the positions of socialism are strong and durable. Our republic is successfully building a developed socialist society."

The Congress adopted a programme statement setting out the main tasks for the next 15-20 years, emphasising that this will carry us a long way towards our ultimate goal of a classless communist society. The Congress consolidated and, in conformity with the new requirements developed, the Party's general political line forged in momentous struggles, formulated the key principles of our policy and singled out the essential elements in our practical activity. I propose to discuss some of these elements.

Patriotism—Internationalism

The revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class, our Party has from its very inception, in November 1918, been a patriotic and internationalist Party, and under all circumstances has consistently remained true to these principles. Now, in building socialist society, it considers it its priority duty to take account both of our specific national conditions and of the common international regularities of building socialism.

The Hungarian people enjoy national independence and sovereignty; exploitation of man by man has been abolished; a developed socialist society is being built, and socialist patriotism has become a moral code. The Party and working class, which play the leading role in our society, give expression to our national interests, are the inheritors and continuers of Hungary's progressive traditions, the custodians of all the genuine values of our national past. Our Party deems it its duty to maintain and enhance respect for these progressive traditions, especially by the young generation. Effective patriotism is a great stimulating force in building socialism. The people's acceptance of the building of developed socialism as their national programme is for us an immense source of strength.

Our Party maintains that patriotism is inseparable from proletarian internationalism, that these two noble ideas are two aspects of fidelity to socialism. In present-day

conditions we consider the following to be the main criteria of proletarian internationalism: co-ordination of national and international interests; promotion of unity; friendly mutual assistance and comradely co-operation; formulation of collective positions and actions on major political issues, but on the basis of independence, equality and voluntary co-operation of fraternal parties. The recent experience of the international Communist movement, the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, have highlighted the special importance of systematic bilateral and multilateral exchanges of views, continued joint development of Marxist-Leninist theory, upon which our movement rests, ideological co-operation, and generalisation of experience.

The study, assimilation and correct application of the experience of the international Communist and Workers' movement is, we believe, a major element of proletarian internationalism. At the same time, however, the fraternal parties enrich the ideological fund of Marxism-Leninism by their own experience of struggle and activity.

Alongside its own experience, the HSWP, now as always, attaches great importance to the experience of the international working-class movement and of the fraternal parties. Our Party continues to learn from all the Communist parties and all the revolutionary forces. And of especial importance for us is the vast theoretical and practical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by Lenin, and the development of the world's first socialist state, which blazed the trail into the future. The world's revolutionary forces have always drawn on the inexhaustible treasure-store of the historic experience of the Soviet Union, which this year will be celebrating the 60th anniversary of Soviet power. And this will be so in future, too.

Drawing on the experience of others is not the same as mechanical copying and does not impair a party's independence. For each Party is responsible for what experience it draws on and how it uses it. Our own Party makes a point of applying the commonly-valid doctrine of Marxism-Leninism with full account to Hungary's historical, political, economic and other peculiarities. This is expressive of the fact that ours is, at one and the same time, a patriotic and internationalist Party.

The Party

It is a fundamental proposition of Marxism-Leninism that the working-class party plays the decisive role in directing the socialist revolution. The party is the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard of the working class, its supreme political organisation representing and implementing the interests of the entire working class and the entire people.

In all its activities the HSWP is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the Leninist norms of Party life. The HSWP is the recognised leading force of Hungarian society and this is formalised in the Constitution. Today, our Party is directing the building of a developed socialist society.

Our experience has taught us the vast importance of a correct interpretation of the Party's leading role. In the past there have been mechanical interpretations, according to which the Party must itself, directly, decide on everything, that it can play its leading role only if it itself undertakes to accomplish practical tasks. Some went on to the extreme: the leading role of the Party can be confined to supervising ideological activity.

Now, however, having drawn the necessary lessons from the past, the Party's leading role is carried out as follows: it takes the initiative, determines the main direction of the country's constructive effort, convinces non-Party people and all the working people of the correctness of its policy, mobilises them to fulfil our plans and controls fulfilment. Party decisions are binding only on the Party and its members. And all Party members in administrative and economic departments and in the mass organisations are responsible to the Party for carrying out these decisions. We do not regard our leading role as a privilege, but rather as service to the people, as a duty to formulate the tasks ahead in good time and in conformity with the people's interests. Communists must set an example in every sphere of endeavour.

As a result of historic development and the political unity of the working class, Hungary has a one-party system. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was formed by merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, a merger that materialised the workers' desire for unity. Our Party thus expresses the interests of a united working class. Its

founding about 30 years ago was essential to the winning of working-class power and the building of socialism.

A one-party or multi-party system is not, in our opinion, fundamental to the building of socialism. And there are many examples of socialism being built in countries with more than one party. The decisive factor is militant unity, the political cohesion of the progressive forces committed to socialism.

There is an important conclusion to be drawn from the fact that, though different classes still exist in our society, ours is the only ruling party. This makes it incumbent on us to reckon with and co-ordinate the various interests within the society. Social and political development has led to the elimination of the former exploiter classes, so that today there are only friendly working classes and strata whose basic interests coincide. Nevertheless, beside the overall interests of society, there are different group and personal interests. The Party recognises this and considers it its duty to cater to them, but with priority to the overall interests of society. The social and mass organisations and movements, notably the trade unions, co-operatives and youth organisations, play an important part in expressing these group and personal interests. Systematic exchange of opinions at various levels between representatives of the Party and government and these mass organisations make it possible to take into account and co-ordinate these group and personal interests. That has been our practice for a long time now and it has fully proved its effectiveness.

The Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party is a living, active and developing organism whose aims and structure must always be abreast of the requirements of the times. Our Party has always strictly adhered to the principle of democratic centralism both in its structure and activity. The Party's vanguard role has a different meaning today than in the early period, particularly when it was illegal, operating within a narrow framework and was a party of professional revolutionaries and not, in effect, a mass party. Today, the vanguard role means, on the one hand, uniting all the progressive forces on the various sectors of socialist construction and representing all the classes and strata of society, and, on the other, directing social development.

The influx of new generations of Communists and the new problems that arise in the process of socialist construction require that the Party improve its style of work, that it always be attuned to the requirements of our age, that Party members steadily improve their Marxist-Leninist training and strengthen their ties with the masses. That was facilitated by the 1975 exchange of Party cards, which strengthened the Party's ideological and political cohesion and unity, and also by the recent Central Committee decision on the Marxist-Leninist training of Party members and the expansion of Party propaganda.

By serving the interests of the broad masses, our Party, the working-class vanguard, extends its mass basis and in this way is increasingly becoming a party of all the working people. That is stressed in our programme statement: "In the continued process of social development, as the distinctions between social classes and strata are narrowed, the Party becomes the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the entire people."

The Policy of Alliance of all Classes and Strata of the Working People

The leading role of the Party is necessary. But history is made by the people, and socialist society can be established only by the people. The Party, if only because of its numerical size, cannot build socialist society single-handed. The new society is built by all the people, and the building has to be done, under Party leadership, by the joint efforts of Communists and non-Party people, by the people, the masses, the makers of history. The Party and its members can move ahead only together with the people, for the point and purpose of their life is serving the people. Consequently, the results of the Party's work in directing socialist construction depend on its ability to rally the non-Party masses. Without allies, without the masses, victory is inconceivable. Hence, the policy of alliance of all classes and strata of the working people, the constant strengthening of our ties with the masses, is for the Party not a question of tactics, but a political question of the utmost importance.

Alliance policy is a class policy. Above all, it is a policy of alliance of classes based on uninterrupted strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. Our alliance policy also reflects the cohesion of the 750,000 Hungarian Communists and the millions of non-Party working people. Our experience has shown that close ties with the masses rests on their confidence, which the Party must win again and again. Our 11th Party Congress approved

this gratifying statement: "Close ties, unity of Party and people, mutual trust between the Party and the masses, is something we prize above all else. The people know that, under all circumstances, they can rely on our battle-tempered Party, and the Party knows that in the accomplishment of any task it can rely on the people, on the steady growing socialist unity of the nation."

We have learned that we must find allies and appeal to the masses not only in difficult situations, but also when things are going well. Our Party has pursued an alliance policy from its very inception and it has been successful when its ties with the masses were strong. But when these ties, because of a supercilious or unprincipled attitude to our allies, weakened, the Party suffered reverses.

The alliance policy implies, above all, political co-operation based on common interests and aims. A cardinal feature of this policy is that the Party, as the vanguard, must indicate the path ahead, but only if the masses are convinced of its correctness, only if we have won their support, their readiness to follow our lead. In the past there were cases when we advanced too fast, ran ahead and had to turn back to reality and find correct ways and methods. That is what happened with the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, when after several inadequately substantiated attempts we finally solved the problem in 1958-61 by strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, heeding the intentions and interests of the peasant masses and stringently adhering to the voluntary principle.

We must from day to day convince our allies of the correctness of our long-range aims and in this way broaden support for our cause and our ideas. It is no exaggeration to say that the Hungarian people support our political aims. However, setting a proper development pace of socialist revolution is a political question that always demands very close study. It is practice that convinces our allies of the correctness of our policy. And there is the proof of experience that the alliance becomes closer when we set correct aims and a correct pace of social progress based on a principled policy hammered out in joint discussion and joint examination with all our allies.

Political co-operation involves people of different philosophical outlook. And we do not depart from Marxism-Leninism for the sake of political co-operation, in which principled discussion of views and positions, frank consideration of all problems, with due account to common interests, constructive exchange of views, complement each other. Our patient, and at the same time, principled policy, has convinced even the Church leaders of the need to co-operate. Besides, our programme of building socialism expresses the basic interests also of our religious-minded citizens. Both factors contributed to the adjustment of relations between the state and the Church. Favourable conditions for co-operation with Hungary's Church leaders were created also by the Patriotic People's Front, which unites our society in building socialism.

The Party's policy is one of socialist unity of the nation. This is the broadest form of our alliance policy. Its objective and subjective basis is the elimination of antagonistic social contradictions, so that we now have only friendly labouring classes and strata. Thus, the building of socialism has become a national programme. The very scope of our alliance policy is a measure of our progress. Socialist unity of the nation rests on community of fundamental interests, on the common desire for socialism, progress, peace and national prosperity, and on the achievement of these aims through concerted effort. All this found expression at the recent 6th Congress of the Patriotic People's Front, which approved the 11th Party Congress's policy and its programme of building a developed socialist society.

The Nature of Power and the Role of the State

The fundamental issue of every revolution is that of power. Power is a means of achieving social and economic goals. Its nature is determined primarily by the class wielding it, by the classes and strata whose interests it expresses and the aims it pursues. History knows numerous forms of assuming and exercising power. The assumption of power by a class and the form in which it exercises its rule always depend on the concrete circumstances. This also applies to the working class.

Socialist construction in Hungary is impossible without working-class power. It is a means of achieving our historic goals—winning, defending and building socialism. In Hungary working-class power was embodied in the Soviet Republic in 1919 and in people's democracy in 1947-48. The latter differed substantially from both the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia (1917) and the Hungarian Soviet Republic (1919).

All the socialist countries came to socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat. In tsarist Russia, the working class took power by force of arms and defended it in armed struggle, in the civil war and the fight against foreign intervention. At that early stage of development of the Soviet Union, socialist changes, industrialisation and collectivisation were impossible without forcibly suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes, the capitalists and landowners. The situation changed with the growing strength of the working class, the consolidation of its rule and the progress of the revolution. This enabled the CPSU to declare that the dictatorship of the proletariat had fulfilled its historical mission and that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat had become a state of the whole people, with the working class performing its leading role in the period of communist construction.

In the people's democracies the working class came to power in a different situation. The existence of the Soviet Union, its progress, its victory in World War II had created new conditions. In the socialist countries of Europe, the working class won power by relatively peaceful means and from the outset was in a position to follow a broader policy of alliance with other working classes. In Vietnam, China and Cuba, however, the working class had to fight its way to power.

Establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary was an historical necessity in both 1919 and 1947-48. True, the Hungarian working class took power by relatively peaceful means in both cases, but in either case it had to defend its power in hard struggle. Class antagonisms assumed an extremely acute form in a society weighed down with survivals of feudalism. Day after day the first Soviet Republic had to defend itself against foreign armed intervention, and was defeated only by the superior external forces. The danger of enemy attack continued in the decades after 1945, though it tended to diminish, but in 1956 a counter-revolutionary rebellion broke out, the causes of which are well-known, and had to be put down in armed struggle.

Our Party is convinced that to ensure internal and external conditions for building socialism, the HPR needs working-class power and the socialist state and will need them for a long time to come. Just as the thesis about the continuous intensification of the class struggle during socialist construction—a thesis we know from an earlier period—was wrong, so it would be a delusion to imagine that the class struggle will steadily abate. This always depends on the balance of forces at home and in the international arena. The Communists never seek an intensification of the class struggle, but they must reckon with its likelihood and be prepared to face it, must safeguard the revolution. They must also remember that while detente, peaceful competition between the two social systems and ideological struggle are coming to the fore on the world scene, imperialism has by no means renounced political subversion nor given up attempts to interfere in the affairs of socialist countries.

The functions of the socialist state continuously develop and change in content. The consolidation of the positions of socialism and the abolition of exploiting classes have reduced the activity of the class enemy to a minimum, with the result that the functions of the state as an instrument of suppression have diminished. The main function of the Hungarian state today is organisation and management in the economic, cultural and educational spheres.

Democracy is the essence of socialist power and of the socialist state. It is well-known Marxist tenet that the democracy of a system depends basically and invariably on who holds political and economic power, the state apparatus and the means of production, what classes are allowed to, and really can, participate in managing the affairs of state and society, and whether the working people can really share in decision-making and control. Since the socialist state embodies working-class power and serves the interests of all working people, it is more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy is people's democracy in the genuine sense of the term. It is the most democratic of all systems ever created by mankind.

Socialist democracy gains in breadth and depth as our socialist state develops. The substantial results achieved in past years provide further opportunities for promoting democracy, above all in three key spheres of public life: local government, the factories and the co-operatives.

We now attach special importance to the development of democracy in the production sphere. A basic component of socialist democracy, it enables the working people to

participate effectively in decision-making in their place of work in the solution of other problems of local or general significance, and help make work more creative. It serves as an important means of shaping socialist relations between superiors and subordinates, makes the working people more aware of their responsibilities and encourages their activity.

We also develop democracy by improving the functioning of administrative bodies. The Party does much to perfect them, for clearly defined powers and efficient operation, coupled with a sense of personal responsibility, foster a democratic atmosphere and are effective in combating bureaucracy.

History has borne out the forecast of Marx, Engels and Lenin, who maintained that the transition from capitalism to socialism would take many different forms although the substance would be the same. The Paris Commune (1871), the Great October Socialist Revolution and all the people's democracies brought into being after World War II showed at their very inception features arising from the possibilities and the requirements of time and place. The existing socialist states, too, are changing as they develop. It is safe to assume that the socialist revolution will yet give rise to new forms. Power, the state, government, democratic institutions may change in form, but we can not predict their concrete forms. It is clear, however, in every country, social relations will undergo qualitative changes when the socialist social system succeeds capitalism.

The form which working-class power has taken in Hungary has proved effective; it accords with Hungarian conditions, which are distinctive in many respects. Undoubtedly, other solutions may arise in a different set of circumstances. Our further course is clear. "As our society progresses and as class distinctions are effaced and a developed socialist society comes into being," the 11th HSWP Congress noted, "the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will gradually become a socialist state of the whole people, the working class remaining its leading force. In developed socialist society there arise and grow the elements of communist self-government by the people."

Economic Development

A most important task of the working class after winning power is to set out immediately to clear the ground and then lay the economic foundations for the new society. Success in building up the economy decides the fate of socialism; it decides whether socialism can gain the upper hand over the declining capitalist system and bring people a better and fuller life than capitalism. This depends largely on the standard of organisation and efficiency on how well economic growth is planned. The 11th Party Congress emphasised that every sphere of our public life depends on results achieved in production, through creative effort.

Socialist economic development is based on the people's ownership of the basic means of production, which makes it possible to manage the economy according to plan, make optimal use of the country's resources, steadily develop the means of production and relations of production, and continuously improve the standard of living. There are different forms of planned economy. In Hungary, basic economic processes are determined and controlled by central government bodies, with considerable autonomy at factory level. Long-range, five year and annual plans play a decisive role. They include and are complemented by the plans of enterprises, local government bodies and co-operatives. Our fourth five-year plan was successfully fulfilled and we are working on the fifth. It will carry us a long way towards a developed socialist society.

The figures of our economic progress are impressive. Qualitative changes have occurred since the country was liberated. In assessing the figures, however, it should be borne in mind that Hungary has an area of only 93,000 sq. km., a population of 10.5 million and modest raw material and energy resources. Production capacity has been expanded and renewed, and now stands at 350 per cent of the last prewar year. Hungary was a backward country but in the 30-odd years since its liberation, what was an agrarian-industrial country has become a country with developed large-scale industry and large-scale farming. It will not be long before it joins the ranks of industrial countries. Compared with 1938, industrial output has increased tenfold, agricultural output on a smaller area and with half the work force engaged in the past has grown by more than half and the national income shows a fivefold increase.

The composition of society has changed with changes in the economy. The greater part of the population is engaged in industry and the working class is the most numerous class now. The standard of life is in keeping with our economic level. We have achieved full employment, social insurance encompasses all members of society and every citizen is entitled to free medical care. In rate of housing construction, Hungary is among Europe's leading countries, though housing conditions are still difficult. One million new flats have been provided over the past 15 years.

Against the background of the crises that have shaken the capitalist world in recent years, the advantages of the socialist planned economy stand out especially clearly. Even in trying conditions, we made steady economic progress and continued to raise, if on a more modest scale, the standard of life. The people regard this, and with good reason, as an indication of the solidarity and dependability of our system. We cannot say yet that we have overcome all difficulties. We can and will offset the adverse impact of economic changes in the world, which we will have to reckon with for a long time to come, primarily by improving our economic activity, raising its effectiveness, strengthening the CMEA, extending socialist economic integration and promoting economic relations with capitalist countries on the principle of mutual benefit. We have every reason to look ahead with confidence, for working-class power is solid and our economic progress dynamic and we can rely on socialist economic co-operation. In the next 15 to 20 years, Hungary will build the material and technical basis for developed socialist society and become an economically developed country.

Cultural Development

For a long time to come, an important function of the socialist state will be to organise and promote culture and education. Cultivating socialist consciousness and raising cultural standards are both a major factor in economic growth and the main prerequisite of the development of the individual and stimulating his public activity. An important objective of our socialist system is to further the people's cultural development and eliminate distinctions in cultural standards.

Marxist-Leninist ideology and ideological education play a decisive part in every sphere of our public life. The Party does much to ensure that the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas holds an important place in all party activity. A thorough knowledge and creative application of the new conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory and the social sciences, it emphasises, are the main source, and at the same time an earnest, of the Party's successful guidance of socialist construction. Interest in the ideas of scientific socialism is seen in the fact that lately an annual average of over 2,200,000 people have been studying Marxism-Leninism. The spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas raises the ideological level of society and, in addition to our political unity, strengthens the ideological unity of society.

Socialism and science are natural allies. Our state makes a special effort to develop education, vocational training and science in step with the growing social requirements. A big gain of our socialist society is the introduction of compulsory eight-year education and the fact that most school-leavers can continue their studies. Our realistic goal now is universal secondary education, and that the choice of profession is not substantially influenced by economic circumstances. In secondary education, the focus is on training of skilled workers. Some 25,000 young specialists are graduated from our higher institutions every year, and they are fully confident of their future. Three per cent of the national income is appropriated for scientific research and development—an amount that can justly be regarded as satisfactory by international standards.

Our state encourages the free development of socialist culture, the arts and letters. There are ample opportunities for creative endeavour and experimenting. The results achieved in the cultural field are widely known. Our people's state registered a great historic achievement by abolishing the monopoly on education held by the privileged classes. Today there are more persons with a higher education than there were with a secondary education prior to liberation. Every year we publish over 70 million copies of books or eight times as many as before liberation. The audiences of theatres, concerts and cinemas and the number of museum visitors have grown many times over. Much of value is being done in culture, education and science. The State Assembly of the HPR recently passed a law on education and culture making it possible for very large sections of the population to raise their cultural standards.

Socialist culture encompasses all genuine human values. Our country publishes the classics of world literature in large editions. Specifically, French classics are published in larger editions than in France. There are numerous other examples showing that publicity for and exchanges of cultural values—which were endorsed by the Helsinki Conference—are a common practice in Hungary. Furthermore, we see new opportunities to expand international co-operation and are willing to explore them. Works serving humanism and progress, values of universal culture, past and present, always find support in our country. However, we do not want hostile propaganda to make its way into our country in the guise of exchanging cultural values, and we do not allow it. This is both a right and a duty of the socialist state, whose mission is to attain the greatest ideals of man.

The programme statement adopted by the 11th HSWP Congress says that fostering social consciousness, transforming people's thinking and raising their moral and cultural standards are inseparable from the development of socialist society. We must see to it that the motto of the finest workers and socialist work teams—"Work, study and live in the socialist way"—becomes a universal social standard. To put it into practice is an important task facing the Party and the socialist state in the spheres of cultural education and organisation.

The 11th Party Congress summed up the experience of constructive effort, specified the country's tasks and noted that socialist construction is making good progress and that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the general laws of building socialism are applied according to our distinctive national conditions. But new problems arise and we seek and find solutions. Our Party considers itself accountable to the people and, in a broader sense, to the international working-class movement. We want our every step and every action to serve the cause of our people and international progress. Our Party has persevered in its policy line for twenty years now. We see our paramount task in maintaining and creatively developing a firm general line ruling out all right- and "left"-wing distortions. This demands that we should spell out and substantiate our fundamental principles and our theory again and again and carry them forward by correctly solving the new problems that crop up in the course of construction.

The programme statement of the 11th HSWP Congress describes building a developed socialist society as our goal. Having laid and strengthened the foundations of the new society, our country entered the period of building socialism on its own basis. In building a developed socialist society, we already discern the outlines of the ultimate historic goal of the Communists and the working class, which is fulfilling its historic mission—the outlines of communism.

CIVIL DEFENSE MEASURES ISSUED IN 1976 SUMMARIZED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 1, Jan 77 pp 28-30

[Unsigned article: "Valid Civil Defense Regulations"]

[Text] Since 1969, at the beginning of every year our journal has published a compilation of home defense (civil defense) regulations and provisions pertaining to civil defense contained in other regulations which have appeared or which have lost their validity up to 31 December of the past year.

Keeping in mind the practice followed in earlier years, our compilation of regulations groups the valid materials which appeared in 1976 as follows:

- I. Fundamental home defense (civil defense) regulations (provisions);
- II. Regulations (provisions) connected with civil defense obligations;
- III. Other regulations (provisions) pertaining to home defense (civil defense);
- IV. Regulations (provisions) pertaining to home defense (civil defense) which have lost their validity.

I. Fundamental Home Defense (Civil Defense) Regulations (Provisions)

Law I, 1976 Concerning Home Defense

Defines the purpose of home defense, home defense tasks, the system of home defense guidance, the home defense tasks of state and economic organs and cooperative and social organizations, the home defense obligations of citizens, the most important regulations pertaining to the personnel of the armed forces and armed bodies, the rights of citizens carrying out home defense obligations, economic obligations and material services and special measures which can be ordered in time of war. (MAGYAR KOZLONY, 31 Mar 76, No 25.)

Council of Ministers Decree 6/1976 (III 31) Concerning Execution of Law I, 1976 Concerning Home Defense

Following the structure of the Home Defense Law, contains the most important measures connected with execution of the law. Sets forth, among other things, the administrative tasks of the minister of defense, guidance of civil defense, and provisions pertaining to civil defense training and exercises, service, reporting in and attendance obligations, exemption from civil defense obligations, etc. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 31 Mar 76, No 25.

Joint Decree of the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health Affairs and Ministry of Financial Affairs 1/1976 (III 31) Concerning Certain Allowances for Those Fulfilling Their Home Defense Obligations and Their Dependents

On the basis of Council of Ministers Decree 6/1976 (III 31) ordering execution of the Home Defense Law, establishes the sum of aid, pensions and other allowances for persons fulfilling their home defense obligations and their dependents. Defines, among other things, compensation for persons participating in civil defense exercises in the event of exercises lasting different lengths of time. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 31 Mar 76, No 25.

Ministry of Defense Decree 2/1976 (VI 17) Concerning Execution of Council of Ministers Decree 6/1976 (III 31) Published for Execution of the Home Defense Law

A decree forming a common structure with the Home Defense Law and the Council of Ministers decree published for its execution, it establishes detailed executive provisions pertaining to execution of the cited regulations. Contains, among other things, detailed executive provisions connected with the content of the civil defense obligation, exemption from the obligation and procedures connected with the obligation. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 17 Jun 76, No 48.

Ministry of Financial Affairs Decree 5/1976 (III 16) Concerning the System of Civil Defense Financial Management and Supply

As an executive regulation of the Council of Ministers Resolution 2041/1974 (XII 11) concerning civil defense, defines the sources of financial supply for civil defense and regulations connected with the middle-range financial plan for civil defense, the annual planning system for civil defense and the compilation of annual budgets or financial plans. Provides for the use of financial resources serving civil defense tasks, keeping and recording of resources serving the goals of civil defense, budget accounting, remuneration and economic and financial supervision. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 16 Mar 76, No 21.

II. Regulations (Provisions) Connected With Civil Defense Obligations

Measure 23/1976 of the National Staff Command of Civil Defense Concerning Implementation of Regulations Connected With the Civil Defense Obligation

Defines detailed regulations connected with practical implementation of regulations connected with the civil defense obligation for state administrative, factory, etc organs of civil defense. In the interest of a uniform application of and adherence to the law provides interpretative and technical rules for solving problems which arise in practice. Defines the system of maintaining records on personnel of civil defense organizations, the more significant elements of procedures connected with the civil defense obligation, procedural and record-keeping questions connected with defense of interests, etc. A separate publication of the National Civil Defense Command.

III. Other Regulations (Provisions) Pertaining to Home Defense (Civil Defense)

Council of Ministers Resolution 2016/1976 (VI 24) Concerning Authoritative Regulation of the Radiological, Biological and Chemical Protection of Material Goods

Establishes, in harmony with provisions pertaining to principles for the development of civil defense and tasks deriving therefrom, a system for the authoritative regulation of radiological, biological and chemical protection of material goods, primarily foodstuffs, water and fodder reserves and livestock. Sets forth the fundamental general questions of regulation, requirements for radiological, biological and chemical protection, and the system of authoritative regulation and provides for the development and gradual putting into effect of authoritative prescriptions and standards for the various branches. HATAROZATOK TARA, 24 Jun 76, No 11.

Council of Ministers Decree 39/1976 (X 30) Concerning Civilian Armed Guards

Defines fundamental questions for the creation, abolishing, guidance, supervision and control of civilian armed guards or bodies carrying out armed guard tasks in various civilian organs for the security of the satisfaction of the basic needs of the populace or the protection of economic and defense interests or for guarding cultural treasures of special significance. Regulates the working conditions of the members of these bodies and their rights and obligations during service. Provides for the regulation of their wages, uniforms and insignia. Empowers the ministries affected to regulate in detail questions connected with execution of the decree. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 30 Oct 76, No 81.

Ministry of Financial Affairs Decree 11/1976 (V 27) Concerning Home Defense Contributions

Regulates the tasks of military recruiting and territorial defense organs and council special administrative organs in connection with payment of the

home defense contribution and procedural questions connected with establishing the payment obligation, assessment of the contribution, prescribing it, its magnitude, exemption from payment of the contribution, handling the contribution deducted, accounting for it and possible repayment of it. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 27 May 76, No 23.

Ministry of Construction and Urban Development Decree 10/1976 (II 26) Concerning Temporary Use of Civil Defense Installations

Regulates or defines questions of the use for purposes different from their original purpose of installations (shelters) built for civil defense (protection of life) purposes or authoritatively designated for such purpose, general conditions for such use, organs which can proceed in such matters (placement authority, civil defense command, technical rescue and shelter service command), obligations of renter, supervision of use, ending use, and procedures aimed at carrying out necessary construction work. MAGYAR KOZLONY, 26 Feb 76, No 14.

Ministry of Defense Measure 9/1976 Concerning Modernization of Civil Defense Organizations

Defines, with regard to the character and mission of civil defense organizations, fundamental principles for the further development of the modernization of the organizations, tasks devolving on ministries (organs with national spheres of authority) or capital and megye council organs in connection with carrying out modernization and provides for the guidance, coordination and supervision of the execution of organizational modernization. A special publication of the National Civil Defense Command.

Measure 10/1976 of the National Staff Command of Civil Defense Concerning Execution of Ministry of Defense Measure 9/1976 Concerning Modernization of Civil Defense Organizations

Defines the regulations for carrying out Ministry of Defense Measure 9/1976 concerning modernization of civil defense organizations. Provides for the civil defense organizations, the mission and guidance of special services, and the mission and guidance of self-defense organizations. Defines the chief procedural phases for execution of organizational modernization and the organizational structure (table of organization) of civil defense organs and organizations. A special publication of the National Civil Defense Command.

Ministry of Agriculture and Food Directive 24/1976 (MEM E 20) Concerning the Recording of State Real Estate Being Managed by Various Ministries

Regulates deviations from general procedures in the area of real estate records in regard to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Justice, or supplements the general procedures. TANACSOK KOZLONYE, 19 Aug 76, No 36.

Ministry of Light Industry Directive 1/1976 (Kip E 21) Concerning Modernization of Civil Defense Organizations in the Area of Light Industry

Defines in regard to the Ministry of Light Industry and the factories under its supervision the system of guidance of civil defense, sets forth the responsibility for execution of civil defense tasks and the structure of civil defense organizations and provides for the appointment and status of civil defense staff commands called on to direct the execution of civil defense tasks. Defines special service organizations of an authoritative (territorial defense) character and organizations of a self-defense (local defense) character operating in the area of light industry. Contains, as an appendix, sample tables of organization for special service and self-defense organizations. KONNYUIPARI ERTESITO, No 21, 1976.

Measure No 33/1976 (HK 18) of the Ministry of Defense Concerning the Exercise of Rights Connected With Home Defense Instruction

Pronounces, on the basis of the Home Defense Law and the regulations providing for its execution, that the chief training official of the Hungarian People's Army, as the responsible deputy minister according to sphere, exercises the authority for establishing requirements connected with the system of home defense instruction taking place outside of instructional institutions. HONVEDELMI KOZLONY, 20 Jul 76, No 18.

IV. Regulations (Provisions) Pertaining to Home Defense (Civil Defense) Which Have Lost Their Validity

Law IV 1960 concerning home defense and law decrees numbers 1/1964, 9/1964, 3/1970 and 20/1973 concerning modification or amendment thereof.

Law Decree No 20, 1959, concerning the home defense contribution and law decrees numbers 32/1969 and 3/1972 concerning modification or amendment thereof.

Law Decree No 10/1971 concerning service conditions for professional personnel of the armed forces and armed bodies, section 55, paragraph 3.

Government Decree No 6/1964 (II 21) concerning regulation of the civil defense obligation.

Government Decree No 19/1964 (VIII 9) concerning the protection of the interests of those fulfilling their military obligations and government decrees numbers 21/1967 (VII 23) and 37/1969 (XI 4) and Council of Ministers Decree No 33/1973 (XII 24) concerning modification or amendment thereof.

Ministry of Defense Decree No 3/1974 [sic] (VIII 9) concerning the protection of the interests of those fulfilling their military obligations and Ministry of Defense decrees numbers 1/1967 (VII 23), 1/1969 (XII 16), 2/1970 (VI 26) and 1/1974 (II 15) concerning modification thereof.

Ministry of Defense Decree No 4/1964 (X 15) concerning execution of Government Decree No 6/1964 (II 21) concerning regulation of the civil defense obligation.

Ministry of Defense Decree No 1/1970 (VI 25) concerning execution of provisions connected with the protection of the interests of those fulfilling their civil defense obligation.

Ministry of Internal Affairs Decree No 2/1971 (IV 23) concerning temporary use of civil defense installations.

Directive No 13/1969 (HK 4) of the Ministry of Defense concerning the creation or further development of civil defense organizations.

Directive No 138/1964 (PK 31) of the Ministry of Financial Affairs concerning resources of state, enterprise and budget organs serving civil defense purposes and their financing and accounting.

Directive No 7/1969 (VII 11) of the Ministry of Light Industry concerning the organization of civil defense health service units and home defense sub-units in the area of light industry.

Directive No 10/1967 (Kip E 27) of the Ministry of Light Industry concerning fundamental questions connected with execution of civil defense tasks in the area of light industry.

Directive No 10/1965 of the National Staff Command of Civil Defense concerning practical execution of regulations connected with the civil defense obligation together with Directive No 7/1969 of the National Staff Command of Civil Defense concerning its modification.

Directive No 18/1970 (HK 4) of the National Staff Command of Civil Defense concerning detailed rules connected with application of provisions connected with the protection of the interests of those fulfilling their civil defense obligation.

Directive No 4/1969 of the National Staff Command of Civil Defense concerning the creation or further development of civil defense organizations.

Guiding Principle No 5/1969 of the National Staff Command of Civil Defense concerning creation of the self-defense sub-units of civil defense.

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CIVIL DEFENSE MISSION, ORGANIZATION REVIEWED BY OFFICIAL

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 1, Jan 77 pp 11-13

[Article by Major Miklos Molnar, a department chief in the National Civil Defense Command: "Further Development of Civil Defense Organizations"]

[Text] In the first month of the new year an evaluation of the past year takes place in every area of our life and this has special significance today because last year was the last year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. In civil defense also we regarded 1976 as a founding year for the plan period and we carried out many tasks which provide a foundation for the successful realization of the goals of the plan cycle. One very significant task was the further development or modernization of the civil defense special services and self-defense organizations. The organizational activity ended on 31 December 1976 and our units and self-defense organizations have been modernized in accordance with the new requirements. I think it would be worthwhile to review the past year and to sum up in a few thoughts, without trying for completeness or evaluation, the basics of the modernization, the organizational principles taken into consideration, and the missions of the several special services and self-defense subunits in the mirror of the basic civil defense tasks.

The Basics of the Further Development or Modernization

In a November 1972 resolution, analyzing the chief areas of civil defense, the Political Committee established, among other things, that on the basis of Government Resolution 2002/1966 a significant number of units and self-defense sub-units had been formed, from the populace and from industrial and agricultural workers, to minimize and liquidate damage arising under war conditions. Their equipment was deficient, however; the mobility and maneuverability of a significant proportion of them did not reach the desired level and the number of personnel in the units was excessive.

While recognizing and praising the results achieved, the Political Committee decided on, among other things, the direction of the further development of the organizations, the essence of which can be summarized as follows:

Smaller but better equipped forces had to be developed to carry out rescue and decontamination tasks. Primary attention had to be turned to special service organizations designed for endangered cities and areas. These must be made gradually capable of carrying out rescue, decontamination and other urgent restoration tasks under complex, radiation contamination conditions as well as participating in time of peace in life-saving and damage control work in the event of natural, industrial or other catastrophes.

In the wake of the Political Committee resolution Council of Ministers Resolution 2041/74 (XII 11) concerning civil defense provided new regulations for the guidance, functioning and material and financial supply of civil defense and established the sphere, mission and fundamental rules for the operation of special services and self-defense organizations. It provided the fundamental principles for modernization of civil defense organizations.

In the further development of civil defense special services and self-defense organizations we started from the civil defense tasks formulated in the resolution cited, with the goal of creating organizations which would ensure the practical realization of the tasks in peace and in war.

We can summarize these tasks as follows:

1. Preparing the populace and civilian organs for defense; warning or informing the populace, evacuation, creating shelters, providing individual protective equipment and blackouts.
2. Preventive radiological, biological and chemical protection of goods needed to maintain life and other material goods and preparing and carrying out measures serving protection of production, services, etc.
3. Carrying out rescue, decontamination and other urgent tasks in situations following the use of offensive weapons.
4. Cooperation in preventing, in minimizing the consequences of, in rescue and in damage control in regard to natural, industrial and other catastrophes.
5. Civil defense preparation of national and regional leading organs and providing the technical conditions needed for leadership in the interest of ensuring leadership of civil defense in time of war.

In the light of the tasks and on the basis of authority received from the Council of Ministers, the minister of defense took measures for the modernization of the civil defense organizations and the National Staff Command of Civil Defense took measures for execution thereof.

In what follows we will examine a few important organizational principles and requirements which had to be taken into consideration on the basis of the above measures. These are:

--The civil defense organizations had to be developed on the basis of the utilization requirements to be expected and on the basis of regional conditions. Their personnel had to be established taking into consideration the personnel of economic organs who could be used for civil defense tasks.

--The modernization of civil defense organizations had to be carried out in harmony with the authoritative and self-defense requirements. The chief forces had to be created in factories and institutions which would continue their activities in time of war, taking into consideration the mission of the installation, the personnel needed in time of war, the possible evacuation of workers and activity connected with this.

--As a result of the modernization the organizations had to be suitable, in the event of natural, industrial and other catastrophes in time of peace and under complex conditions in time of war, in regard to their organization and equipment for carrying out the necessary tasks in the interest of rescue and decontamination.

Taking these principles into consideration let us review the structure, mission and guidance system of civil defense organizations.

Civil defense special services, if measures do not make exceptions, function in accordance with state administration at national, capital, megye, city, capital district, district and town levels.

The Mission and Organization of the Several Special Services

Warning Special Service: With the cooperation of the Ministry of Transportation and Postal Affairs and under the technical guidance of the minister of heavy industry this service creates a national alert system, keeps it operational, operates it in time of need and provides a practical, timely and reliable warning to the populace.

Evacuation and Reception Special Service: The minister of defense (with the technical guidance of the National Civil Defense Command), in cooperation with other organs, plans and organizes the disciplined evacuation of the populace from endangered areas and their placement in designated areas and enacts regulations to influence voluntary mass movements.

Health Units and Institutions: Under the technical guidance of the minister of health affairs and with the cooperation of the first secretary of the Hungarian Red Cross these units and institutions prepare for the search for, provision of first aid to, collection of and initial life-saving medical treatment of victims of offensive weapons or natural, industrial and other catastrophes and for health services to civil defense forces involved in rescue work.

Technical Rescue and Shelter Special Service: Under the technical guidance of the minister of construction and urban development and by means

of the special administrative organs carrying out construction and transportation tasks, the fundamental task of this service is to develop preventive technical measures to minimize war damage and loss, to build and equip shelters, to rescue people from them and to temporarily restore damaged buildings and public works.

Animal and Crop Protection Special Service: Under the technical guidance of the minister of agriculture and food and by means of the agricultural and food special administrative organs of the megye councils, the task of this service is protection of livestock, crops and fodder against radiological, biological and chemical contamination, establishing the existence of contamination or infection, performing the necessary rescue operations, destroying reserves rendered useless and establishing the consumability of foodstuffs of animal origin.

Radiological, Biological and Chemical Protection Special Service: The minister of defense (with the technical guidance of the National Civil Defense Command), by means of council organs carrying out industrial or communal tasks, enacts measures for the inspection and decontamination of persons and materials infected or contaminated as a result of attack with atomic, chemical or biological weapons, to provide individual RBC protection of forces and to decontaminate roads, machines, vehicles and other important installations.

Radiological, Biological and Chemical Information and Control System: As a part of the national radiological observation and indications system, with the coordination of civil defense and under the technical guidance of several special authorities such as the Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the National Bureau of Water Conservation, etc, this system constantly watches and tests for possible contamination of air, water and food reserves and, after a strike, informs the civil defense organs of the situation developing.

Fire Protection Special Service: By means of the state fire department and under the technical guidance of the minister of internal affairs, this service carries out preventive fire protection tasks of a civil defense character, localizes fires arising after use of offensive weapons and opens fire gates for rescue forces.

Food Supply Special Service: Under the technical guidance of the minister of domestic trade and by means of special administrative organs of the councils carrying out trade tasks, this service plans and ensures the feeding of and supplies for civil defense forces and for the populace left without supply as a result of the effects of offensive weapons.

Self-Defense Organizations

In the interest of carrying out in a self-defense manner the tasks mentioned above, the following self-defense organizations have been formed in

enterprises, institutions, offices and cooperatives, taking into consideration their work, character and possibilities on the basis of the requirements of the organ supervising them:

Warning Subunits: To create and operate a system for warning (including emergency alert) and information.

Blackout Subunits: To shield lights or provide partial or complete blackout of buildings, industrial installations, vehicles, etc.

Technical Rescue Subunits: To carry out preventive technical measures aimed at minimizing the consequences of the use of offensive weapons and to cooperate in the building of emergency shelters.

Shelter Subunits: To maintain shelters in readiness, to create emergency shelters, to organize use of shelters and to ensure order and discipline in shelters.

Radiological, Biological and Chemical Subunits: To cooperate in carrying out preventive RBC measures aimed at minimizing the consequences of the use of offensive weapons and to discover, rescue and decontaminate persons, materials, food reserves, livestock, crops, vehicles, buildings, areas, etc contaminated or infected with radiological or poisonous or biological materials.

Health Subunits: To cooperate in organizing and carrying out preventive health and epidemiology tasks, to carry out health tasks during evacuations and to seek out, provide first aid to and transport to aid stations victims of offensive weapons or, in time of peace, natural, industrial and other catastrophes.

Fire Protection Subunits: To cooperate in execution of preventive fire protection measures, to prevent the spread of fires resulting from the use of offensive weapons, to put out smaller fires and to cooperate in the execution of technical and RBC protection tasks.

Maintenance-of-Order Subunits: To ensure order during evacuations, to guard material goods, to maintain order in shelters and damaged areas and to provide signal and courier service.

Evacuation Subunits: To organize factory evacuation and to cooperate in carrying out evacuations.

Animal and Crop Protection Subunits: To cooperate in carrying out preventive measures pertaining to protection of livestock and agricultural products (crops, fodder, etc), to rescue and decontaminate contaminated livestock, crops, fodder, etc, or to destroy animals or crops.

Food Supply Subunits: To feed workers left without supplies or to feed self-defense subunits participating in rescue, decontamination or disinfection.

These organizational forms, building on trained personnel, have now been set up and in our opinion they correspond to the requirements. After the completion of this very significant work we express our recognition and gratitude to all those party and mass organization leaders who supported our work with their recommendations and concrete observations and to those ministerial and factory leaders and council presidents and council workers who carried out the modernization of the civil defense special services and self-defense organizations.

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SZSP SEEKS GREATER STUDENT VOICE IN MINISTRY DECISIONS

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 2, 27 Jan-9 Feb 77 pp 1, 3

[Article by Janusz Zareba: "SZSP and the Experts"]

[Text] While demanding modern style in the SZSP activities, it should not be forgotten that the organization has a tradition in this area. And this tradition is not a few ephemeral initiatives and it is not for the first time that voices are raised to end bureaucratic phenomena within a student organization.

The Tradition

As early as 1963, a group of young enthusiasts of modernity established, as an adjunct of the General Council, a Team for Sociological Research which operated for almost 10 years. In one of the reports they gave the following rationale for their activity: "The methods and style of organizational work based on common experience and observation no longer satisfy the demands of efficient and effective impact of SZSP on the student body. It happened occasionally that the pressure of a momentary state of public opinion and social consciousness dictated the assumptions which were the basis for decisions. Later, it turned that the assumptions were erroneous and led to improper generalization of isolated facts. The need for using research as the basis for action of an organization has also a more general justification. It is justified by the general trend to modernize the managerial and leadership processes in various fields of social life."

How was it with your expert opinions? Were they not by any chance just put on the shelf? I have provocatively asked one of the former team members, Dr Ryszard Kalbarczyk.

We were highly satisfied because the organization used most of our research. For instance, we conducted research on correspondance students. Our proposals went to the ministry and as a result some relief was provided to those students. When the student work cooperatives were severely criticized for drawing students away from studies, our research demonstrated something entirely different: work in cooperatives had a positive influence both on

the studies and on the organization of the student's own time. Obviously not all activists knew how to profit from our research. But some of them felt the need to learn the students' opinion before making decisions. Under circumstances where the speed of the research played a major role, we did not attempt to achieve pedantic precision in our research.

Ryszard Kalbarczyk also mentioned that the team wanted to combine management science with data processing. One of the institutions even offered the use of its computer capability in return for passes to student clubs. Unfortunately, no money was allotted for peripheral equipment and the dream of data processing vanished. They were also thinking about improved reporting and doing computations for student science societies.

The crisis started probably at the time when some of the team members obtained doctorates and started thinking about serious expansion of the research. This must have met with a negative reaction from some activists who felt threatened by the growing ambitions of the team. And no new group of similar enthusiasts appeared at that time.

The Managers of Science

I am not bringing up tradition just to propose similar solutions. At that time the specialized research of higher education and college youth was not as developed as it is today. Constant changes in the student body and students' changeable attitudes discouraged to some extent professional researchers from getting involved in the subject. Consequently, at that time it was justified for the organization to have its own research unit.

Today, the situation has changed. There is a strong Institute for Science and Education Policy attached to the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology and that institute, in addition to its own research activities, coordinates the research conducted in individual schools. The efforts of scientists from individual centers have been also integrated within the framework of the central project, "Modernization of the educational system in a developed socialist society", and in the departmental project, "Improvement of the higher education system". On the other hand, in recent years, a strong student scientific effort has developed, especially in liberal arts colleges, which reaches with increasing frequency for subjects in its own environment.

In the new circumstances there is no need to come back to the old concept of SZSP conducting its own research. But it is necessary to consider how to include the organization in specialized research done outside, how to profit from it and how to influence it. Otherwise, the organization can become just a passive observer of that research.

First of all, the old Institute for Sociological Research, vestiges of which still remain (on a part-time basis), should be replaced by a team of "managers of science" responsible for the total cooperation of SZSP with professional scientific institutions. The situation where the individual sectors of the organization's activities, both at the headquarters and the voivodship levels, contact separately various research institutions, and even duplicate their orders, is not normal. The managers of science should also organize a data bank, not only for the work conducted by specialized researchers but also for the research undertaken by student science societies. They could be even tempted to direct to a certain degree the work of those societies in order to avoid duplication and to make it complementary to the professional institutions' efforts. In order to publicize the students' efforts, a portion of the currently published periodical, "The Problems of Student Scientific Activities", should be reserved for papers on the student body. The editors of our paper also would be interested in publishing the more interesting articles.

Skillful application of the results of research in higher education can be accomplished in various ways. Let us mention just one of them: as a subject of discussion in the organization. Let us imagine a situation in which the activists of the SZSP discussing a given subject have at their disposal the results of an analysis, for instance a sociological analysis. Then, they can concentrate their attention on their reaction to the results of the analysis and on the formulation of practical conclusions rather than intuitively groping around the problem.

The proposed solutions should not be evaluated solely in terms of organizational applications. Skillful matching of student opinions with scientific expertise could provide the opportunity to strengthen the role of SZSP in influencing the decisions affecting higher education.

First steps

It seems that the first steps toward cooperation with the scientists have been taken. At least that was my impression after the visit to the Science Department of the Central Committee of SZSP. I was informed there about a working session of the representatives of the department with the management of the Institute for Educational Policy and Higher Education or to be precise with the managers of three sections: pedagogy, sociology and alumni liaison.

This was our initiative, the department activists told me. The reason is that we want to stop excessive reliance on intuition, which is so prevalent in our work. Of course, we do not want to use science in an uncritical manner, after all we are so much closer to our fellow students. We are thinking about including to a greater extent the science societies in this type of research. One of the four subject areas so far selected by the societies is the problem of youth, but this subject still is not very popular because of the difficult research technique. We would be more interested in such subjects as individual studies, teaching of foreign languages and the model of future university level schooling.

I have also visited the Scientific Policy Institute to find out to what degree the scientists themselves are interested in cooperation with the students.

Assistant Professor Dr Andrzej Buttler: for the last few years I have been keeping in touch with the activists in the field of economics and I have profited handsomely. When we started the research of the scholarship system, it turned out that SZSP had at its disposal an interesting research from the sixties which, of course, we used. Recently, we organized a joint seminar on the subject of employment of graduates in which the departmental authorities participated too. This was an excellent forum to exchange views.

Asst Prof Dr Buttler pointed out two problems which have not been solved yet and which, in his opinion, could be brought to a practical solution faster with the help of SZSP: the proper inclusion in the planned educational-didactic activities of the decision point at which the student selects his work location (only then will the planned employment system work optimally) and the problem of adaptation and development of the young scientific cadre at the school.

In turn, Dr Halina Jablonska-Skinder said: the institute produced a model of future higher education and would like very much to know the student opinion on this subject. We count on SZSP to help us with this. Without discussions with students there is no point in constructing models of higher education. Reaching out for students' opinions with the help of the organization is of value to us because in our routine activities we deal rather with the higher education administrative authorities. Additionally, we wish to have students' opinions for various scientific conferences and seminars.

Will a discussion on the subject of higher education reform conducted by traditional (i.e., administrative) methods bring the results expected by the institute? First of all, it should be conducted in a different manner than that practiced so far by SZSP. The discussion would have to be oriented not so much to the number of participants but rather to a properly representative selection. Lastly, the discussion could be organized in a modern way profiting from the latest organizational techniques (brain storming, panels, etc.). In the discussion the emphasis could be placed on the futurology theme, which has recently become so popular.

In the conceptual preparation of the discussion assistance could be provided by the SZSP activists such as those in the Management and Leadership Institute of the University of Warsaw who are groomed to be the future managers of our economy. The Department Chairman of that organization told me that some modern organizational techniques are used by them in their current work.

Of course, the above remarks should not be treated as the only method to improve efficiency which can be used for every kind of the organization's work. It is not always necessary to reach for expertise, which often cannot replace common sense.

POLAND

PAPER NOTES ILL TREATMENT OF POLES IN FRG

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27 Dec 76 p 2

[Article by Edward Dylawski, GAZETA ROBOTNICZA correspondent in Bonn:
"Pressure on Polish Citizens Who Have Arrived in the FRG for Good"]

[Text] Many of those who arrive in the FRG from Poland to become permanent residents but who retain their passport and Polish citizenship report to the consulate of the Polish embassy in Cologne with a number of problems. Here, many of the restrictions placed on these people by the West German authorities are mentioned. It is mainly a question of the practices connected with the granting of the right to remain and the right to work by the offices of the FRG.

For example, the newcomer from Poland with a Polish passport receives the right to remain in the FRG, but he is not allowed to do any kind of work. If this is a man in a Polish-West German mixed marriage, and there are quite a few of these, this ban places the existence of his family virtually in doubt. He has a choice either of becoming a West German citizen or of being at the mercy of his relatives, who are not at all very eager to help newcomers from Poland.

Now and then, a work permit is granted to newcomers to the FRG who retain Polish citizenship, but a clause barring them from working in specified professions is inserted in their Polish passport simultaneously.

There also are cases when a work permit is granted based upon the consent of the appropriate employment office, but at the same time the right to remain in the FRG is given for a period of 5 months, for example. Who in this situation will employ the holder of such a passport if it is not known whether he will still have the right to remain in the FRG in 5 months?

Others have a clause in their Polish passport stating that their right to remain in the FRG expires in the event of even a temporary departure. There is fear in this situation to visit relatives in Poland when it is not known if permission for a repeated entry into the FRG will be received.

There also are cases like that of a certain Polish citizen with a Polish passport who came to the Rhine within the framework of an action to unite families and who received permission in one of the cities in the Ruhr basin to stay longer. It was marked in his passport, however, that he did not have the right to perform independent work. At the same time, a clause was inserted in his passport stating that permission for his stay in the FRG was valid only if he received valid consent to work. And, thus, he cannot do independent work, and if he does not receive a permit for other work, his right to remain in the FRG will become invalid.

The authorities of the city of Konstanz, situated on Lake Constance, on the Swiss border, inserted in the passport of one of the Polish citizens not only a clause stating that he was not free to do "independent or comparable nonindependent work"; they even added that the right to remain in the FRG "does not entitle him also to undertake work in Switzerland." What right, we can ask, do the West German authorities have to decide who can or cannot undertake work in Switzerland or whether a Polish citizen can or cannot be employed by the Swiss?

In all of the cited instances, Polish citizens granted approval by the Polish authorities to travel to the FRG in accordance with the protocol entry of 9 October 1975 are involved. The family reasons inducing them to leave for the Rhine were various. Some renounced their Polish citizenship and Polish passport when they left. Others, whom I am writing about, resolved to leave with a Polish passport and holding Polish citizenship.

It turns out that some West German authorities do not accept this form of a solution to the complicated and difficult humanitarian problems which have surrounded the family links of the citizens of both countries for years. For how else can we explain all these restrictions which Polish citizens with a Polish passport encounter? Evidently, in the opinion of some West German authorities, people leaving Poland for the FRG should not be allowed to refuse West German citizenship.

For the restrictions placed on people with a Polish passport bear all the marks of administrative and economic pressure intended to lead to their renunciation of Polish citizenship. Not having work permits and having a limited right to remain and uncertain tomorrows, they have to make a decision on becoming West German citizens and renouncing their Polish passport. Otherwise it will be difficult for them.

The consulate of the Polish embassy in Cologne knows cases of outright persuasion to make people renounce their Polish citizenship. How these practices demonstrate any humanitarianism towards people whose fate became entwined with the intricate history of Polish-West German relations is hard to say. Rather, these practices are connected with a national policy which may produce bad associations for the Poles.

In the meantime, on 20 November 1976 the secretary of state in the Ministry for Inner-German Relations in Bonn, Baum, stated in the columns of DIE WELT

that the authorities of the FRG sanction this kind of pressure on Polish citizens. Should we conclude from this statement that these kinds of practices with regard to Polish citizens have received the blessing of the federal authorities?

There is one more side of this departure coin which prompts more than a reservation. Everyone who comes to the FRG from Poland under the terms of the protocol entry of 9 October 1975 receives expellee and deserter papers. The law on refugees that continues to be binding in the FRG demands this. In accordance with this law, the members of mixed marriages also receive these identity cards when one of the partners considers himself/herself to be a German and the other, to be a Pole, regardless of whether the husband or wife is involved here. In this situation it turns out that both partners are "expellees," although there is no connection in either case with what is understood by the concept of expulsion.

In accordance with the text of the law on expellees, the term "expellee" also applies to a person who--following the conclusion of the implementation of the postwar emigration decisions, when, among other things, the Germans had to abandon the areas turned over to Poland on the strength of the Potsdam treaty--left or would have left as a German "the German eastern territories that were temporarily under foreign management--Danzig, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, or China."

Where, we can ask, are these German eastern territories finding themselves under foreign management? Was there really no agreement of 7 December 1970 which the FRG signed and ratified and in which it recognized the Oder-Neisse boundary as Poland's western border? What connection is there between "expulsion" and the departure from Poland for the FRG--not to mention the other countries noted in the law, such as Albania or China--of Polish citizens traveling at their own request from Poland to the Rhine in accordance with the protocol entry of 9 October 1975? Even in the greatest fantasy it is difficult to declare them "expellees," "deportees," or "deserters."

They obtained permission for departure in response to their own application. They were not expelled or deported by anyone, and they did not have to flee from anyone. Applying the provisions of the above-mentioned law to them in the FRG and granting identity cards of "expellees" or "deserters" to them on the Rhine in the full majesty of the law is nothing other than conferring upon Polish citizens a status which not only has nothing to do with reality and the understandings of 9 October 1975 but also strikes at Poland's good name. It is also an infringement of the humanitarian intentions lying at the base of the protocol entry of 9 October 1975 and a use of these intentions for political aims which can serve to poison the atmosphere of the normalization of relations between Poland and the FRG.

Six years from the signing of an agreement on the bases of the normalization of relations between both of our countries, it can be said that these practices are at the least surprising, if we are to believe that the West German side is--like Poland--interested in achieving good relations between Poland and the FRG.

MORE RADOM SENTENCES REVIEWED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Feb 77 p 4

[Text] Even the fourth review proceeding before the Supreme Court against those who took part in the events which occurred in Radom on 25 June has raised more questions than it explained. And now after the verdict has been reached in the final review of the 24 apparently most important cases and now that this series of Radom review proceedings is apparently concluded, the question remains: who then actually did what is alleged to have happened on 25 June in Radom? The 24 accused, on whom the Supreme Court had to pronounce sentence, were not really conspicuous as the chief culprits even if the charge and rationale for sentencing are taken at face value. To judge by the punishment, however, they were treated as the main characters.

Out of a total of 40 years imprisonment for the 6 accused, 26 years were reduced to probation. Two years of probation were for the witness-accused. It was apparently calculated that by softening the sentences, the doubts which still lingered about the evidence and about the severity of the sentences would no longer weigh so heavily. In the oral justification for the sentences, the court pointed out that they were not political sentences, that for political crimes there were other articles of the criminal code with more severe punishment.

The fourth review proceeding brought something new compared to the three previous ones. The number of witnesses increased. This time two civilian witnesses played an important role beyond the rather uniform circle of a handful of policemen otherwise used against all 24 accused in the 4 trials.

The witness who played an important role was one of the accused. He had seriously incriminated his enterprise colleagues before the Voivodship Court. The Voivodship Court and also the Supreme Court considered this incriminating testimony to be credible since there seemed to be no personal interest why he should incriminate his colleagues on his own. This argument was not very illuminating. Various personal interests are conceivable to explain why the defendant accused his fellow defendants and other persons. Perhaps the prospect of better treatment during confinement pending trial. Or a pressing desire to remove oneself from the danger zone. The defense

stated that the police had received a tip that he was with someone who started a fire in the party building. The fact that (according to information of the defense) he had stated in a letter to the State's Attorney, in which he requested parole, that he has done his civic duty by virtue of his statement as a witness, and also the fact that he received an especially light sentence (3 years were reduced to 2 years probation) in the lower court as well as in the highest court makes the argument that he had no interest appear somewhat doubtful.

In any case his testimony came at the right time. Finally there was more than just a policeman to present incriminating material. Because it was practically always the same policemen, the suspicion gradually arose that they had agreed how to testify. And secondly, through this testimony they finally had someone who was supposed to have started the fire in the party building. The accused, who had no previous convictions, was not yet 18 years old on 25 June. His colleague at work claimed he saw him break into the newspaper kiosk at the entrance to the party building and start a fire in the cloakroom with papers he took from the kiosk. The defense asked the Voivodship Court for local venue because it felt that no judge from the sketch of the layout of the building it was not possible even under the ideal conditions of an empty hall (and at the time it was full of people) to see both the kiosk and the cloakroom at the same time from the place where the witness testified he had stood. The local venue was not granted because the entrance had been changed in the meantime. According to defense reports, the Voivodship Court assumed, however, that the witness had changed the place where he was standing. The defense goes on to say that this is contradicted by the witness' own testimony when he said he stayed the whole time on the same spot at the entrance. The Supreme Court still thought it possible from the sketch of the layout that the witness could have seen both places of action. The young defendant, who was not observed by anyone else in the act of starting the fire, now received a sentence of 6 years imprisonment from the Supreme Court instead of one of 10 years.

Another principal defendant, who had been sentenced to 9 years imprisonment in the first instance, likewise got off with a lighter sentence. He had had a previous conviction. The Supreme Court, however, did not close its eyes to the argument that recidivism into a "similar crime" was here somewhat far-fetched. He had received a previous conviction for grand larceny. What he had done on 25 June was the possibly somewhat rough stopping of cars in order to block the street.

On the background of such mild treatment, the "scapegoat" of this trial was dealt with rather harshly: also 9 years in the highest court. He also had had previous convictions, more than one. But he was a special case, his defender said. He had confessed without much ado that he was in the burning party building. Anyway, he had helped there with the firefighting and with the rescue attempts.

ROMANIA

DESTRUCTION, ROBBING OF PUBLIC TELEPHONE BOOTHS DEPLORED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Feb 77 p 3

[Article by Ion Marcovici: "Ethics of the Street--A Telephone Call to Public Opinion"]

[Text] In order to assist citizens, the Directorate of Telecommunications in Bucharest Municipality is making an effort to keep pace with the modernization of residential districts and housing construction. These concerns also exist in regard to the commonplace, but useful, public telephone booth. More than 800 public telephone booths have been set up in the Titan, Balta Alba, and Bercenti districts. The same situation exists in the other new districts of Bucharest. In all, about 4,500 urban telephone booths and 165 intercity telephone booths, for numbers with prefixes, have been set up. Each month, this number is increased by 30-40 newly installed public telephones.

However, this human effort, for the use of citizens, is often frustrated by some citizens who behave as hooligans. Cornel Florescu, chief of the public telephone group, told us: "In 1976, about 1,400 public telephones were destroyed and put out of use. As of 25 January 1977, an additional 164 public telephones had been broken, robbed, and put out of use. For a handful of money, sometimes even less, a piece of property used by the public, worth 1200 lei, is destroyed. Not to mention how necessary this telephone is for passers-by on the respective street. We are striving, with great effort and with much expense, to install as many public telephone booths as possible in different parts of the city and, especially, where there are the fewest opportunities for communication. But each day, during inspections, we discover booths without telephones, telephones without receivers, broken telephones. This year, to save metal, we will use public telephone booths made of plastic, in different colors, which will add a little beauty to the streets and telephone booths made of glass with aluminum frames. But what is done during the day is destroyed at night. Other damage to public property occurs in the telephones in some of the enterprises. Stamped metal washers are put in the slot for urban or inter-city phone calls. In the "Didactica," "Timpuri Noi," "Semnatoarea," "Danubiana," "Viscofil," and "Electromagnetica" enterprises, in the factory for automation elements,

and the automotive repair enterprise which requested public telephone booths and in which we installed these booths, metal slugs, of the same size and weight, are used instead of 25-bani coins."

From what has been said above it is clear that a number of individuals with antisocial behavior are permitted to cause damage to public property by the destruction and plundering of public telephones. In order to stop such acts which violate the ethics of the street, the intervention of public opinion is necessary. We are calling for this by this means.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF CENTRAL PHYSICS INSTITUTE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 4, 15 Jan 77 pp 2-5

[Decree No 6/1977]

[Text] Decree of the Council of State Regarding Certain Measures for the Organization and Operation of the Central Physics Institute

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. The Central Physics Institute (ICF) is reorganized according to the provisions of the present decree.

The ICF manages, organizes, and is responsible for all research and technical engineering activities in the fields of physics, the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, new sources of energy, and earth and space physics, as well as for the formulation of new technologies and materials with special characteristics and performances, needed by the national economy.

The ICF assures that all specialists in research, production, and teaching participate in fulfilling the unified program of research in the fields of physics and its applications, and takes steps to introduce into production and exploit the results obtained.

Article 2. The ICF is constituted on the structure of the Institute for Nuclear Physics and Engineering, operates as a legal entity subordinated to the State Committee for Nuclear Energy, and has its headquarters in Bucharest Municipality.

Chapter II. Functions.

Article 3. The ICF has the following principal functions:

- a) Organizes and is responsible for all research and technical engineering activities for the peaceful application of atomic energy, particularly for power purposes, in order to build nuclear reactors for the production of power, and for obtaining and using new sources of energy;
- b) Formulates system designs for nuclear power plants, conducts scientific and technical engineering research for such plants at all phases of their construction, as well as for other nuclear installations, and provides technical assistance during their construction;
- c) Is responsible for the development and introduction into the economy of nuclear materials, as well as for the application of nuclear technology in machine building, chemistry, metallurgy, the extractive industry, agriculture, medicine, biology, and other domains;
- d) Organizes and manages all research and production activities for nuclear fuels;
- e) Assures the production of radioisotopes, stable isotopes, and marked substances, and of instruments and installations necessary for the application of isotope techniques throughout the economy;
- f) In collaboration with units of branch central research institutes, develops new materials and techniques for the electronic, electrotechnical, and optical industries, and assures their transition into production by providing the necessary technical assistance;
- g) Researches, designs, and tests prototypes, and produces new radiation and plasma instruments and installations, particle accelerators, as well as highly technical components, instruments, and installations in limited numbers, for nuclear power plants and other nuclear installations;
- h) Together with other branch central research institutes and specialized economic units, assures the introduction into industrial production of techniques, instruments, and installations which were researched or built as prototype or pilot in its own units, as a function of the general needs of the national economy;
- i) Organizes in its own units the research, design, and construction of a limited number or single instruments and installations needed for the unified program in the field of physics or its applications;
- j) Performs research in astrometry and astrophysics, as well as remote detection research on underground and ground level natural resources;
- k) Organizes and is responsible for research activities in earth physics and seismology, and takes steps for the practical application of the results obtained;

l) Organizes scientific documentation, and takes steps to provide documentary information for all specialists in its domain of activities;

m) Fulfills any other functions stipulated by law.

Article 4. All teaching personnel in specialized higher education must conduct its scientific activity in the research units of the ICF, and must actively participate in fulfilling the objectives of the unified program.

The obligations stipulated in paragraph 1 also apply to high school teaching personnel which conducts research in the domain of physics or its applications.

Article 5. Researchers, designers, technical engineers, teaching personnel, and all specialists who conduct their activities in units of the ICF, carry the entire responsibility and have the obligation of participating directly, in all phases of the introduction into production of the results they obtain, until planned design parameters are achieved.

Article 6. In fulfilling its assigned tasks, the ICF collaborates with ministries, other central organs, science academies, and central research institutes.

Chapter III. Composition of the Central Physics Institute

Article 7. As of the date of the present decree, through the reorganization of the research units described in appendix 1, which cease their activities, the following units with economic management are established:

a) The Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering (IFIN), a legal entity, with headquarters in Bucharest, whose purpose is to research and formulate technologies for the peaceful, non-energy application of nuclear physics and techniques, until the products and technologies developed are transferred to production.

b) The Institute for the Physics and Technology of Materials (IFTM), a unit without legal standing, with headquarters in Bucharest, whose purpose is to research and formulate technologies for new materials, and for components and devices incorporating these materials, needed for the electronic and electrotechnical industries, as well as to research and formulate technologies for new sources of energy.

c) The Institute for the Physics and Technology of Radiation Instruments (IFTAR), a unit without legal standing, with headquarters in Bucharest, whose purpose is to research and formulate technologies, and construct laser radiation instruments and installations, particle and plasma accelerators, optical components and instrumentation, as well as to formulate applications for very high temperatures and pressures.

d) The Center for Astronomy and Space Sciences (CASS), a unit without legal standing, with headquarters in Bucharest, whose purpose is to conduct research in astrometry and astrophysics, as well as to research and formulate instrumentation designed for space studies by means of satellites, and to exploit the data obtained through remote detection.

e) The Center for Earth Physics (CFP), a unit without legal standing, with headquarters in Bucharest, whose purpose is to research the structure and physical processes of the earth's crust, and to reach conclusions regarding primarily the seismic microzoning of the land and the forecasting of earthquakes.

f) The Nuclear Instrumentation Factory (FAN), a unit without legal standing, with headquarters in Bucharest, whose purpose is to produce instruments, installations, components, and devices as prototypes or in limited numbers, on the basis of technical designs formulated in units of the ICF.

Article 8. As of the date of the present decree, the following units change their names and purpose:

a) The Pitesti Institute for Nuclear Technologies changes its name to the Institute for Nuclear Power Reactors (IRNE), a legal entity, with headquarters in Pitesti, whose purpose is to be the sole responsible unit for research and technical engineering devoted to the technologic construction of nuclear reactors and ancillary installations, from system design to start-up.

b) The Cluj-Napoca Institute for Stable Isotopes changes its name to the Institute for Isotopic and Molecular Technology (ITIM), a legal entity, with headquarters in Cluj-Napoca, whose purpose is to conduct research and technologic engineering for the production of stable isotopes, instrumentation for the use of stable isotopes, and the development of new applications for stable isotopes.

c) The Iasi Center for Physics and Technologic Research changes its name to the Center for Technological Physics (CFT), a legal entity, with headquarters in Iasi, whose purpose is to conduct research and technical engineering in the domain of heat exchangers and recovery systems, as well as in the domain of magnetic materials and instruments.

Article 9. The units which compose the ICF are those listed in appendix 2*).

Chapter IV. Organization and Operation

Article 10. The ICF is managed by a scientific council composed of the

*) Appendix 2 will be sent to the institutions concerned.

managers of its component units, deans of physics departments, highly qualified specialists from education, units of research, technical engineering, and production, representatives of academies of science, and of collaborating central research institutes, as well as of representatives of ministers and other central organs concerned.

The scientific council has the following principal functions:

- a) Assures the formulation and discussion of the unified research program in the field of physics, adopting the measures necessary for the practical application of its provisions;
- b) Formulates and discusses long range plans for the development of physics, and projects for plans of scientific research, technologic development, and introduction of technologic progress, in the fields of physics, nuclear energy, and associated domains;
- c) Establishes the measures necessary for all teaching personnel in the field of physics to conduct its research in institutes of the ICF, and for the activity of this personnel to become part of the unified research plan;
- d) Discusses and proposes educational programs in its field of activity;
- e) Discusses and formulates proposals for measures aimed at fulfilling the functions of the ICF, according to the law.

Article 11. The scientific council is responsible for all its activities to the State Committee for Nuclear Energy.

Article 12. The scientific council has an executive bureau which directs the activity of the ICF, and which fulfills the decisions of the scientific council.

The composition of the scientific council and of its executive bureau is approved by the State Committee for Nuclear Energy and by the executive bureau of the National Council for Science and Technology, upon proposal from the director general of the ICF.

The activity of the scientific council and of its executive bureau is conducted according to the principle of collective management and labor.

The chairman of the scientific council is the director general of the ICF or another researcher in the field of activity of the institute.

Article 13. The current activity of the ICF is managed by the director general, assisted by a deputy director general, a technical director, and a scientific secretary.

The director general, the deputy director general, the technical director, and the scientific secretary of the ICF are designated by the chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy, with the approval of the National Council for Science and Technology.

The director general of the ICF also fulfills the function of director of the Institute of Physics and Nuclear Energy, and the technical director of the ICF also fulfills the function of director of the Nuclear Instrumentation Factory.

Article 14. The organizational structure of the ICF is shown in appendix 3*).

The organizational structure of the Pitesti Institute for Nuclear Power Reactors may also provide functional departments for investment and mechanical power departments, organized according to the regulations approved for such activities in industrial units.

Article 15. The sections and laboratories of the units stipulated in article 7 letters a)-e) and article 8, are organized according to the provisions of Decree No 297/1973, regarding the establishment of unified standards for the structure of research and design units; technical engineering activities are organized according to the technical planning regulations stipulated in the same decree.

Article 16. Research and technical engineering units of the ICF are staffed according to the levels of remuneration, groups of branches, and sizes described in appendix 4*).

Article 17. The Nuclear Instrumentation Factory, its sections, and its production shops, are organized according to the provisions of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of uniform structure regulations for economic units, and are staffed at the degrees of organization described in appendix 5*).

Article 18. The Institute of Nuclear Physics and Engineering assures the functional activity, general utilities, and maintenance of machinery and tools for the ICF and for its units which have no legal standing and which have headquarters in Bucharest.

Article 19. Units which are coordinated by the ICF which have no legal standing, may have operational independence, a bank sub-account, bank credit, and may conclude contracts by representational proxy and have economic and financial relationships by delegation, within the limits of capabilities approved by the executive bureau of the ICF.

*) Appendixes 3, 4, and 5 will be sent to the institutions concerned.

Article 20. The personnel quotas for functional groups stipulated in appendix 5 of Decree No 297/1973 regarding uniform structural standards for research and design units, apply to the Institute for Nuclear Physics and Engineering for the total number of employees in ICF units with headquarters in Bucharest.

Article 21. The function of scientific secretary of the ICF can be filled by persons at the professional level of principal scientific researcher (principal design engineer) grades I and II, and in large and medium sized institutes, also by persons at the professional level of principal scientific researcher (principal design engineer) grade III, or of scientific researcher (design engineer), under the conditions stipulated by the Statute for Organizing the Activities and Promoting Research Personnel.

The management allowance for the function of scientific secretary is established in appendix IV, chapter VIII, letter a), points 2 and 4, of Law No 57/1974.

Chapter V. Final Provisions

Article 22. Within 30 days from the effective date of the present decree, the ministries stipulated in appendix 6*) will transfer to the State Committee for Nuclear Energy, by protocol, the personnel with the specialties required by the Pitesti Institute for Nuclear Power Reactors, in accordance with the provisions of this appendix, together with the applicable indicators of work and remuneration.

The personnel transferred according to the provisions of the preceding paragraph will primarily include personnel specializing in the nuclear field, at home or abroad.

Article 23. The transfer of activities of units which are ceasing operation to units of the ICF will be effected with the assets and liabilities established by inventories, together with economic and financial indicators and contracts under execution, through protocols completed within 30 days from the effective date of the present decree.

Upon proposal from the State Committee for Nuclear Energy and from the ministries stipulated in appendix 6, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, will modify the plan and financial indicators on the basis of the protocols written according to the previous paragraph.

Article 24. The scientific research and technical engineering personnel transferred from one unit to the other on the basis of the present

*) Appendix 6 will be sent to the institutions concerned.

decree, are considered as transferred in the interest of their jobs and will retain the professional levels which they had in their previous units.

The personnel in units which are reorganized, who occupy graded functions and who as a result of the reorganization will be employed in the same functions or in equivalent functions with the same tasks and duties in units of the ICF which apply other levels of remuneration, will continue to benefit from the class of remuneration which they previously had.

The personnel which becomes free and available as a result of the provisions of the present decree, will benefit from the rights stipulated in article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of uniform structure regulations for economic units.

Article 25. The provisions of appendix IX of the Decree of the Council of State No 163/1975, chapter I, point 1, letters a) and b), referring to the Institute of Atomic Physics and the Institute for Nuclear Technology, equally apply to the Bucharest Institute for Physics and Nuclear Engineering, the Institute for the Physics and Technology of Materials, the Institute for the Physics and Technology of Radiation Instruments, and the Pitesti Institute for Nuclear Power Reactors.

Article 26. Appendix 1, parts 3 and 6, of the Decree of the Council of State No 168/1975, regarding certain measures concerning the transportation of non-local personnel to and from the place of work, is modified by replacing the name of the Pitesti Institute for Nuclear Technologies, with the name of the Pitesti Institute for Nuclear Power Reactors.

Article 27. Appendix 1, point XVI, the State Committee for Nuclear Energy, in the Decree of the Council of State No 139/1974, regarding the approval of lists of research and design units organized in accordance with Decree No 297/1973, regarding the establishment of uniform structure regulations for research and design units, is modified according to appendix 7*).

Article 28. Appendixes 1-7 are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 29. On the effective date of the present decree, Decree No 656/1973 regarding the establishment of the Central Physics Institute, Decision of the Council of Ministers No 890/1956 regarding the reorganization of the Institute of Physics of the Academy of the Romanian People's Republic, as well as any other provisions to the contrary, are abrogated.

Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 13 January 1977
No 6

*) Appendix 7 will be sent to the institutions concerned.

Appendix 2. List of research units which will cease operations.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Institute of Atomic Physics | Bucharest-Magurele |
| 2. Institute of Physics | Bucharest-Magurele |
| 3. Center for the Mechanics of Solids | Bucharest |
| 4. Bucharest Astronomical Observatory | Bucharest |

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END